THE Secret History OF EUROPE.

PART II.

Treating of the following Particulars.

Of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Reception at the *Hague* by the *States*, and the Prince of *Orange*; and of his Enterprize afterwards in *England*.

Remarks on Father *ORLEANS*'s History of the *Revolution*.

Of the *French* King's Personal Hatred to King *WILLIAM*.

Some Transactions preceeding the *Revolution*, in *Holland* and *England*, with a short Account of its Progress and Accomplishment. Shewing that it was intirely owing to *High Church-Men*, and *High Church-Principles*.

The Conduct of a certain *Faction*, immediately Before and After the *Abdication*.

King *James*'s Behaviour in *Ireland*, and at St. *Germains*, proving that he grew worse by his Misfortunes, and that a *Popish* King and *Protestant* Subjects are incompatible.

The Conspiracies form'd by *Passive Obedience* and *Non Resistance*, against the Religion and Liberties of this Kingdom, and the Life of the King, within the Compass of Two or Three Years.

Of the Poisoning the Duke of *Lorrain*, and Others.

The Method of Bribing, us'd by *France* in *England*.

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Secret History

OF

EUROPE,

PREPARING.

THE PREFACE

THO' *I have not thought fit to alter the Title of this Part, but to call it ſtill the* Secret Hiſtory of Europe; *yet the Reader will ſoon perceive it has relation chiefly to* England, *and was writ with a deſign to ſet a Rampant* Faction *in their True Light: For it is not Argument that will now prevail; Nonſence has uſurp'd the Place of Reaſon, as Falſhood triumphs over Truth. There never was ſo corrupted an Appetite in the World as reigns now in* England; *the moſt Infamous Lyes, the moſt deteſtable Libels, and unparallel'd*

Effronterie *are ſwallow'd with a Greedineſs that will not be credible to Poſterity, if they have any Senſe of Shame, and are not as abandon'd to every Thing that's Good as we are.*

'Tis Pleaſant to ſee ſome Authors argue with ſuch People, and to pretend to prove that the Revolution *was a* Reſiſtance, *and the keeping King* James *out of his Throne a* Depoſing *him; that the ſettling it upon King* William *and Queen* Anne, *proves the Crown not to be* Indefeaſible, &c. *nothing can be more merry. 'Tis like proving, that it is Day at Noon, or Cold in a Froſt: Wherefore I reſolv'd to ſhew what was done by the Men who talk after this Rate, that they are not more Inſolent than they are Inconſiſtent, and that if ever their Principles are try'd, as they were by King* James, *their Practices will be Proof, that never Poor Nation was ſo bubbled, and Futurity can think no better of us, than that that we were as Simple as the firſt* Britains *though we were not ſo Innocent.*

I confeſs

I confess I cannot reflect on these Things without a foolish Concern for the Reputation of my Country, *which is very Impertinent in a Man of my Station and Interest, especially when there are so many other things of a higher Nature worthy Reflection that we have not room to trouble our selves very much about this.*

The Authorities *made use of in the following Sheets are unquestionable, as shall be prov'd if ever they are attack'd; but I did not think my self oblig'd to discover the Stores from whence I was supply'd with them. The Prejudice of some, and the Vanity of others, might have hinder'd Part of the Effect they may now produce.*

I flatter my self most of the Papers I have consulted are in very few Hands, as I am sure some are in no other: And though some few Facts, as that of the Bishop's Tryal, *of* Magdalen College, *and other such* Outrages *of King* James's *Reign have been treated of before; yet it*

was

was never done in the same Manner, and with the same View, as will appear by the Reflections, for the sake of which they were told.

I desire the Reader to lay as few Press Faults to my Charge as his Patience will admit, being afraid I shall otherwise have too much occasion for his Candour.

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THE Secret History OF EUROPE, &c.

PART II.

THO' I have been very much encourag'd in profecuting my Deſign to treat of ſome Parts of our own Hiſtory, and the Hiſtory of *Europe*, with more freedom than others have thought fit to do, and to relate ſome Matters of Fact which have hitherto been conceal'd, by the kind Reception the Firſt Part met with; yet I ſhould not have been determin'd by it, if I had not before reſolv'd to continue my Reflections down to theſe Times,

and had not made a good progreſs in it when that Part was publiſh'd, which brought the Story to the Reign of King *James* II. I ſhall begin this with ſome Obſervations on that and the *Revolution*, of which 'tis proper at this time to remember as much as we can, that we may do as much to prevent the neceſſity of another.

There have been great Pains taken to blacken it; it has been call'd a *Rebellion*, and the Glorious Reigns founded upon it ſo many Uſurpations. Every thing done ſince has met with as much Cenſure, as the Actions of the *Rump* and *Cromwel*, and the Principles that produc'd it are condemn'd as *Republican*. The Church, who was the main Inſtrument of effecting it, ſeems to diſown it, and thoſe who pretend moſt Zeal for her, appear to have the leaſt for our Conſtitution: Which makes it neceſſary that we ſhould look back and ſee how different ſome Men talk now from what they did then; and to ſhew that it was indeed that very Body of Men who have lately harangu'd ſo furiouſly againſt *Reſiſtance*, who did then incite others to Reſiſt, and Reſiſted themſelves in the moſt notorious Manner; for Nature, as they have declar'd themſelves, will rebel againſt Principle, and the Farce they have lately play'd, in crying up the *Hereditary Right* and the *Proteſtant Succeſſion* is not more ridiculous, than their pretending to Loyalty, and condemning the Eſtabliſhment that ſet

ſo

ſo good a Queen on the Throne, after it had been thirteen Years fill'd by King *William*, who could have no Right if the Crown was unalienable and indefeazible.

I ſhall not trouble the Reader with ſo ungrateful an Entertainment as the Reflections caſt on the Memory of that Prince, who deliver'd us from the *worſt of Slaveries* as the Reign of King *James* was term'd by ſome ſtanch Churchmen in their Addreſſes to Him when living. But I ſhall enquire what were their Practices when that King made the leaſt Step to the Dimunition of their Privileges and Revenues. They may argue with as much Nonſence as they pleaſe, that *Paſſive Obedience* is the Doctrine of the Church. Whenever their Intereſt or Power is toucht, their Tone is ſoon chang'd, and they are as forward as any to preach up that Liberty, which to ſerve a preſent Turn, is reproach'd as Licentious and Dangerous. One would think that *Leſley* had made more Converts than 'tis to be hop'd he has to his Project of reconciling the *Britiſh* and *Gallican* Churches, ſince the Sentiments of ſome of our Teachers agree ſo exactly with thoſe of the *French* Jeſuits. One of them writing of our Affairs, ſays, *The* Engliſh *Spirit, always full of the Conceit of their own Liberties, has been fatal to the Kingdom's Peace.* It has always ſtrugled to preſerve that Freedom the Nations around them give up to the Will of the Prince. And

this Spirit of theirs, tho' now in ſo languiſhing a Condition, will, I truſt, appear to the Confuſion of all the Enemies of our Government, when there is the ſame occaſion to exert it as there was at the Revolution.

Before I enter upon the Matters that had immediate Relation to the Happy Revolution I have been ſpeaking of, I ſhall vindicate his late Majeſty from the Aſperſions caſt on him in a *French* Hiſtory of the *Revolutions in England*, which was tranſlated into *Engliſh* about the time that it came into Faſhion to beſpatter the Memory of that Glorious King, and that will oblige me to call to Mind ſome Events prior to it, particularly that of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Invaſion, if *England* may be ſaid to be invaded by One hundred and fifty Men, wherein I ſhall take Notice of ſome Facts relating to it, not yet known, and others very rarely to be met with, which will all contribute to give us a juſt Idea of the Spirit by which the Enemies of our Conſtitution are animated both in their Actions and Writings.

Thoſe who are angry at our Deliverance will never forgive our Deliverer, and they therefore repreſent him as an Ambitious intereſted Prince, who having rejected a Sovereignty at Home, which he was courted to accept, came only to fight for one Abroad which he could never have obtain'd, had not the Guilt and Terror of his Predeceſſor frighted him from

from a Throne, on which he had ſat with ſo much Violence, Oppreſſion and Injuſtice. In order to this, he privately aſſiſted the Duke of *Monmouth* in his raſh Attempt againſt King *James*, that by removing him out of the Way, he mght make his own to the Kingdom. This is ſo ſilly, that it would not be worth mentioning, was it not ſo commonly ſaid and believ'd. True it is, the Prince of *Orange* was very civil to that unfortunate Prince and King *Charles*, who affected a Severity towards the Duke, which diſguis'd a tender Affection, took his Nephew's Friendſhip to his Son very kindly; as may be ſeen by the Journal in Cyphers found in the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Pocket, and printed in Dr. *Welwood*'s Memoirs. This Friendſhip continu'd after the King's Death, but Decency would not ſuffer the Prince to ſhew a Reſpect to a Perſon who was the profeſt Enemy of his Father-in-law: However, he did his utmoſt by his Advice and Aſſiſtance to prevent the Duke's Misfortunes, and far from putting him upon a mad Enterprize againſt the new King, he was earneſt with him to leave the *Netherlands*, and enter himſelf into the Emperor's Service, offering him a Supply of Money to fit him for it, and ſupport him in it, which had been a ſure means of preſerving a Life his Enemies pretend he was jealous of, and inſtrumental in ſhortning it, by encouraging him to undertake what he knew would be his Ruin. Beſides, none but

Fools can imagine the Prince of *Orange* did not know the *Engliſh* Nation better than to apprehend they would accept of a Prince with the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Chimerical Title, in preference to himſelf, who in Right of his Wife the Princeſs *Mary*, was next in Succeſſion to King *James*.

Popiſh Writers, who with the Malice inſeperable from their Religion, take all occaſions to villify his Memory, lay the Scene of the Prince's Views to the Throne as high as the Defection of the Earl of *Shaftsbury* from the Court Party, pretending that Lord, by his Agent *Du Moulin*, flatter'd him with ſuch hopes before he marry'd the Princeſs; A Match his own good Senſe could not but incline him to, to maintain his Intereſt in *England*, which was not inconſiderable, himſelf being the next Heir after the two Princeſſes the Duke of *York*'s Daughters, whoſe Right none ever thought of injuring, when there were ſo many for excluding the Father. This Calumny is as true as what Father *Orleans* ſays, that King *Charles* marry'd the Princeſs *Mary* to the Prince of *Orange*, without the Duke of *York*'s Privity, whereas it is well known that the Prince came not to *England*, till the two Royal Brothers had been acquainted with his Deſign, which the Jeſuit declares the Duke did but *miſtruſt*, and oppos'd it all that in him lay, but was impos'd upon by the Earl of *Danby* and Sir *William Temple*. Than which nothing can be more falſe,

for the Prince was so far from keeping the Matter secret, that tho' all the World expected he would have enter'd upon the Affair of the Peace, which the *Dutch* had very much at Heart, yet he protested he would not meddle with any Business, till that of the Marriage was adjusted: That King *Charles* being impatient to have his Compliance in the Terms of that Peace, gave his Consent, and went immediately and procur'd his Brothers, in both whose Presence the Marriage was declar'd in Council. This Priest is not content to wrong the Prince in representing his Marriage to be Clandestine, he affirms, that the Duke of *Monmouth* when he was in *Flanders*, offer'd the Prince of *Orange* to serve him in obtaining the Crown of *England*, which is of equal Credit with what he says of the Parliaments intending to declare the Duke Successor to his Father, if the Exclusion Bill had past. For in all that Debate it is known the only Successor nam'd was the Duke of *York*'s Heir, being Protestant, and that was the Princess of *Orange*; nor was the Prince's Council susceptible of such Visionary Projects, had his Highness been capable of a too hasty Ambition, whereas there are a thousand Instances of his Sacrificing his own private Advantages to the Publick Good of Religion and Liberty, as is at large observ'd in the Bishop of *St. Asaph*'s Sermon on his Death. *Can all the World besides admire that Probity, that Justice and unblemish'd Honour, that adorn'd*

his Life, and we alone be insensible who reap'd the Fruits of them, &c. *Could all this Confidence be built but on Experience of his great Discernment and mighty Knowledge how to ballance Powers and most disinterested Integrity and Virtue? Where are the Bargains that he ever struck for his Particular Advantage? What Selfishness has yet appear'd in all his Conduct for more than thirty Years? He might have rais'd his Seat upon his Native Country's Liberties, his very Enemies would have supported him in those Pretences; but he affected no Honours but what were freely offer'd him there, or elsewhere, and if the Hands that reach'd them would have pull'd them back, his Ambition that was only useful, knew how to merit as well as to deserve them. Can these and other his great Qualities (a few of which serve to enoble other Princes) immortalize his Name Abroad, make him the Standard of true Honour and all Royal Vertues and we at Home think meanly of them? No Infamy, I think, could fall upon our Country equal to this Ingratitude*, &c. This Character of the late King will serve as an Antidote to all the Poysonous Fictions I may think convenient to repeat after Popish and Factious Writers, to shew by what Spirit they are animated by his who is the Father of Lyes, especially what the Jesuit has said in his History of our Revolutions in *England*, because he tells us very formally, he had consulted King *James* himself in the writing it, and it is probable communicated what he had written to him, which makes it necessary to animadvert

a little *en passant* on his History, that it may not be thought the more Sacred, for having the boast of such Authority. The good Usage the Duke of *Monmouth*, and the *English* Refugees met with in *Holland*, in Times of *Popery and Persecution*, was what they ought to have expected from a Protestant Prince and State, who were convinc'd that their own Ruin would follow that of the Protestant Interest in *England*. The Prince did indeed, receive the Duke with particular Honours, which was requisite to encourage the Protestant Party in this Kingdom at that time, very near being depress by the Popish; and in this he was seconded by the States. The Prince considering him as a General who had serv'd with him in the *Netherlands*, order'd his Troops to Salute him at Reviews where he happen'd to be present; at which King *Charles*, who was entirely in the Hands of his Brother, was oblig'd to take Umbrage, the Duke being apparently in Disgrace, and Orders were sent to Mr. *Chudleigh*, then Envoy at the *Hague*, to complain of it; that Minister, who was a Creature of the Duke of *York's*, did it in such Offensive Terms, that the Prince could not forbear falling into a Passion, and threatning *Chudleigh* with his Hand, which he might well be provok'd to do, If *Chudleigh*, as it is said, took on him to Command the Officers himself not to pay that Salute for the future, which Insolence in a Court, where the Practice of Arms was so well understood, deserv'd the Resentment

ſentment it met with; and King *Charles* was ſo ſenſible of it, that he only order'd his Miniſter to forbear Waiting on the Prince for ſome time; whereas had ſuch Indignity as lifting the Hand up been offer'd to his Envoy on any other Occaſion, the leaſt he could have done, was to have recall'd him: And his not doing it, confirms the Report that King *Charles*'s Conduct towards the Duke of *Monmouth*, at leaſt in the laſt Months of his Life, was pure Grimace, and that he intended a thorough Reformation of his Court and Miniſtry, in favour of the Conſtitution in Church and State, *to make himſelf eaſie for the reſt of his Life*, as he ſaid himſelf. His being influenc'd by his Brother in all things, having embroil'd him perpetually with his Subjects, a Condition the more diſagreeable to him, in as much as it obſtructed his Pleaſures, and was an Enemy to that Indolence in which he center'd his Happineſs, the Fault of his Nature, and not of his Judgment. I have heard a

M. P- n. * Gentleman, who was very well acquainted with King *Charles*'s Court, and a Favourite of King *James*'s, declare That the Kings Negligence in Buſineſs, was wholly Affectation, and that his leaving it to the Duke his Brother, was purely to throw off the *Odium* of Male-Adminiſtration from himſelf, who in the main lov'd Rule, and was as Obſtinate in his Opinion as his Father. If one was to judge by the Capacity of that Prince, ſomething of this kind might be Credible, it being certain

his

his Genius for Government, was much above either his Fathers or his Brothers; but as it was so, he saw plainly it was impossible for him to carry the Point they all aim'd at, *The setting the Regal Authority above the Laws*; and he could not hope without that, to fulfil his Engagements with *France*, in favour of Popery: For that there were such Engagements, is plain from the Facts mention'd in the *First Part* of this *History*; and Father *Orleans* himself puts it out of doubt, intimating, that one of the Principal Ends of the Treaty preceeding the last *Dutch* War, was to procure a *Toleration* for the *Papists*. And to excuse the making that League, He very frankly affirms the *Tripple Alliance* was expir'd, when it is Notorious, the Emperor was at that time Courting a Place in it, and the *Dutch* Arming in pursuance of it, and King *Charles* forc'd to send Mr. *Coventry* to *Sweden*, to buy off that Crown with *French* Money, from adhering to it: Enough of which, has been said in the Book before mention'd, and what is hinted here, is only to observe, how much the Truer this Jesuit's History is, for being writ by King *James's* Approbation. The good Father owns, *That the League made in* 1670. *between the Kings of* England *and* France, *was to promote their Designs, and that Madam, the late Dutchess of* Orleance, *concluded it when she went to* Dover, *to meet her Brother.* He continues, *The Particulars of that Treaty are not for my Purpose, except one Article which relates to*

Religion

Religion. He then gives an Account of the Care taken in it of the Catholicks, and ſo highly extols King *James*'s Zeal, that he confeſſes the *French* King himſelf was for more moderate Propoſals, *as ſafeſt and moſt ſeaſonable.*

Now conſidering all this was probably no Secret to a Prince, who had the beſt Intelligence in the World, was it not Time for the Prince of *Orange*, and the Friends of the Proteſtant Religion, to look about them, and provide, as well as they could, againſt the Impending Storm? It is not to be doubted, but he kept a cloſe Correſpondence with the Heads of the Proteſtant Party in *England.* The Duke of *Leeds* in his Letters, ſhews us how it was carry'd on between the Prince and him before the Marriage, which the *Duke ſays he will not loſe the Glory of.* 'Tis not ſtrange, that the Prince of *Orange*, who was next Heir to the Crown, after the Two Princeſſes the Duke of *York*'s Daughters, ſhould always have an Eye to it; for 'tis acknowledg'd, the Duke would have hinder'd the Marriage, for which he could have no other Reaſon, but the Prince's being a Proteſtant; and if that Princeſs and Her Royal Siſter, had been intirely at the diſpoſal of their Father, who can doubt, but the Bleſſings we have had in their Reigns, had been prevented by his giving them to *Popiſh Princes*; and in ſuch Caſe, the Prince of *Orange* would have always had the firſt Pretenſion, had there been an *Excluſion* of *Papiſts*, which was not impoſ-

ſible.

ſible. Tho' it cannot enter into any Honeſt Man's Heart, that the Prince's Views went farther than to ſupport his Pretenſions by much better, thoſe of his Wife. And King *Charles* knew too well, how fond his People were of that Match, to think of any other. Since as to a *Proteſtant One*, there could not be a more advantageous, and as to a *Popiſh*, it muſt have been fatal. It being concluded, the Prince had a very near Concern in every thing that related to *England*; and having an Eye to our Affairs, is what became his Wiſdom and his Honour. It was certainly in Him, that all the Hopes of *Engliſh Proteſtants* center'd, and none but Madmen had ever any thoughts of making other uſe of the Duke of *Monmouth*, than as he was Brave and Popular. Beſides, the Prince's Friends were not chiefly of thoſe that were engag'd with that Duke, the moſt Eminent of them, as the Marquiſs of *Halifax*, the Earl of *Danby*, Sir *William Temple* being always oppoſite to him, as well when he was in Favour, as out of it. However, when the Danger was ſo great, the Prince could not act more prudently, than to be well with all Parties that were Enemies to the Popiſh, and to ſtrengthen his own by the Proteſtant Intereſt of all Denominations. He knew he would have diſoblig'd great Numbers in *England*, had he given up the Duke of *Monmouth* to King *James*'s Fury, on his Acceſſion to the Throne. And had he been ſeiz'd in *Holland*, where there was no Power greater than

than his own, it would have been a hard matter for him to have clear'd himself of Suspicion, that it was done with his Consent. This King *James* knew, and his Council wisely judg'd, he would not be accessary in any wise to it; therefore it was, that Mr. *Skelton*, then Ambassador at the *Hague*, had Orders to attempt to get away the Duke of *Monmouth* privately, which, as Wise Heads as our *English* Counsellors had, was not so manag'd, but the Prince had Notice of it, and would not suffer such a base Piece of Treachery to be acted in his Court. Mr. *Bentinck* acquainted the Duke with the Design form'd against him, and advis'd him to retire to *Brussels*, furnishing him with Money for that Purpose. When he was safe, *Skelton* was permitted to search the Dukes House, and he did it to as much Purpose, as he some time after discover'd the Secret of the *Revolution*, when it was too late to hinder it.

The Jesuit would make us believe, that when afterwards the Duke return'd to *Holland Incognito*, being order'd from *Brussels* by the Governor, the Marquiss *De Grana*, at the Instance of King *James*'s Resident, He was assisted in his Expedition by the Prince of *Orange*, not as the ill Wishers to that Prince reported, to send him to his Destruction, but because the Duke had promis'd to Enthrone the Prince if he succeeded. Is it possible, may the *Reader* well exclaim, there could ever be an Author so stupid,

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as to deliver a Whimsie for Truth, which carries with it such evident Marks of Invention and Calumny. Yet this is the Author who boasts, *He had the Liberty to discourse King* James *about his History, as long as he could wish.* It is pretended and perhaps not without Reason, that the Majority of the Dukes Council and Followers, were for a Common-Wealth. Can it be supposed the Prince was not fully appriz'd of that Disposition of theirs, which would have destroy'd his Pretences? And if it had been possible for 150 Men to have Conquer'd *England*, had hinder'd for ever his Claim taking Effect. Is it likely the Prince could be so weak, as to build upon a Promise of being Enthron'd by an Army of *Republicans*, supposing that Powerful Band had increas'd to as great a Number as was *Wat Tylers?* Yet such are the Visions the Popish Writers amuse their Faction with in *England*. And the good Father very Judiciously and candidly observes, the Prince of *Orange had a mind to embrace that Opportunity of being Enthron'd by the Duke of Monmouth*, and therefore let him slip out of some Skulking Port in *Holland*, with three Ships, and one good Company of Men, to beat the *English* Fleet and Army. One cannot conceive, how a Man of Common Sense, could tell the World all this, and yet call in King *James* to vouch for him. Mr. *Skelton*, he says, having by his Vigilance and great Zeal found out that the Duke of *Monmouth* and the other *English* Fugitives, where going some where,

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he put in a Memorial to desire the *States* to shut up the Ports, which he confesses was done accordingly; but it seems this *Zealous and Vigilant Man*, had forgot the Port of *Amsterdam*, where the three Ships were fitting, and from whence they sail'd. For he tells us Notice was given them to make use of other Ports, than those mention'd by *Skelton*; they did so, and Sail'd secretly from the greatest Port not only in these Provinces, but in the whole World.

As I took the Liberty in the former Part of this *Treatise*, to digress sometimes, when by taking a little round, I did not lose my way, so I shall do in this, my Intention being to consider those things, that the Cautions of Men of Interest, may keep from touching with the Freedom they ought. Every one affects a wonderful Delicacy, when they talk of the Endeavours that have been made to preserve our Liberty by extraordinary means. Such I own, as should never be made use of, but when they are of the last Necessity. For my Part, I shall always pay the highest Honour to those that have reasonably asserted it, and not been led away by the Humors, Ambition or Dispair of Great Men. I cannot but impute the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Rashness to the latter Motive, believing if he had Ambition enough to have aim'd at a Crown, he was not so weak as to flatter himself he could obtain it, in opposition to King *James*, the Prince of *Orange*, the Church of *England*.

land, the wiſer part of the Diſſenters and all the Lovers of Monarchy in this Kingdom, none of whom were likely to joyn him, when they ſaw how he was attended, his Followers being moſtly Men of Common-Wealth Principles. But they were all deſperate as well as himſelf; *Holland* began to be too hot for him and them, and they had no where elſe to go to be ſafe, unleſs in the Barren Mountains of *Swiſſerland*, or the Bloody Fields of *Hungary*. They were ſo vain as to imagine a Nation that had not yet had ſufficient Experience of their King, would abandon him purely becauſe he was a *Papiſt*; not but that he had done ſome things, even then, which were Illegal and Arbitrary, and gave good Grounds for them to fear what he would do. However, diſtant Fears are no Warrant for Attempts on the Conſtitution and Publick Peace; and the Tranquility People found themſelves in, on the Death of King *Charles*, which was as Welcome as unexpected, and the King's Promiſe to ſtand by the Eſtabliſh'd Church, made them look over what had been done amiſs, and promiſe themſelves better Days for the future; which they thought the Duke of *Monmouth*'s coming would interrupt, and thoſe who in King *Charles*'s Time, had been of his Party, were weary of following his Misfortunes. Thus, thro' Loyalty, Indifference and Fear, the Nation had generally an Abhorrence for his Undertaking, which increas'd upon his Proclaiming himſelf King. I have been aſſur'd by

Persons who were with him, and in his Confidence, that he never thought of it, till after he Landed, and was put upon it by *Ferguson*, whose Treasonable Practices since, may very well make us suspect he was a Spye on him, and a Secret Agent for the King, whom he could not have serv'd more effectually, than by inciting the Duke to assume a Title to which he had no manner of Pretence. It is certain, he had given his Word to the Earl of *Argyle*, that he would pretend to no more than to act as General of the Forces that should joyn him, against King *James*; and the Malster *Rumbold*, when he was Executed at *Edinburgh*, declar'd it was contrary to all their Expectations, adding, *It was not for a New King that they took Arms, having a better than him already.* But the Malitious Turn the Jesuit gives the Prince of *Orange*'s Zeal on this Occasion, is not worthy the Piety King *James* made appear in his Retirement at St. *Germains*. He assures us, that the Prince of *Orange*, hearing the Duke of *Monmouth*, had broke his Word with him, and Proclaim'd himself King, immediately dispatch'd Mr. *Bentinck* to King *James*, to offer him his Service, both with his Person and all his Forces. I desire the *Reader* to mind that this *Historian* wrote by Memoirs from King *James* himself, and I can prove, that it was several Days after the Duke Landed, that he was Proclaim'd King; He staid some time at *Lyme*, and came not to *Taunton* till a Week after he Landed. He was

was not Proclaim'd there till the 20th of *June*, and about the 15th Mr. *Bentinck* had Audience of the King at *London*, ten Days before the Prince knew any thing of the Duke's aſſuming that Title, which never enter'd into his Head, till his Evil Councellors put him upon it. It is natural to believe, that after the Duke had ſlipt away from *Holland*, and the News that came of his Landing, multiply'd the Aſſiſtance he met with there as it did in *London* ten times as much as it was, making 50000 Men of 5000 that the Prince might take the Allarm, and make thoſe Offers to his Father-in-Law, from whom he had nothing to deſire, but to have his own Right by his Wife ſecur'd. However, King *James*, who knew that the Prince of *Orange* could not have any Succeſs in *England*, which would not be prejudicial to the *Papiſts*, receiv'd thoſe Offers in ill Part, *expreſſing himſelf*, as the Jeſuit ſays, *after ſuch a manner as ſufficiently ſhew'd that Zeal was not Seaſonable*, tho' never was Zeal no more in Seaſon, had not Fortune been as Propitious to the King as his Arms. For as deſperate as the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Enterprize was, as few as his Followers when he Landed in leſs than a Week, he had an Army with him capable of making the Diſpute more hazardous than the King's Friends thought it. The Report of ſo ſudden a Defection, had put all the *Weſtern Countries* in a Ferment, and tho the Duke's beſt Friends among the Gentry, as Sir *John Guiſe*, Mr. *Clark* of *Chipley*, Mr. *Har-*

very of *Sherburn*, and others were ſecur'd in the Weſt, yet there were many both in theſe Parts, and in the North, who were well Wiſhers to his Cauſe, as far as it tended only to ſecuring our Religion and Liberties, as the Lord *Brandon*, and the Lord *Delamere*, both of whom it is thought, were under Obligations with him, to exert themſelves in that Quarrel; and tho' the latter was ſo Prudent as not to commit his Deſigns to Evidence, yet it is believ'd, nothing hinder'd his Declaring himſelf even at that time, but the Duke's Folly in taking on him the Title of *King*, which was never intended him. The true Lovers of Liberty, ſaw early what Breaches would be made upon it, by a King of *French* Principles in Religion and Politicks, and were ready on all Occaſions, to ſhew their Zeal for his Excluſion. But they would have been Mad, to have truſted in one who began his Undertaking with falſyfing his Word, and Uſurping a Right which was anothers, more worthy of it than himſelf, had the Poſſeſſor forfeited or renounc'd it.

It is our happineſs, that the Duke from the Time of his Landing, to that of his Death, did not take one Juſt Step. The little Store of Arms and Ammunition he had, he ſent from *Lyme*, to come about the Lands-End, and meet him at *Briſtol*, whether he never went, and his Ship was taken by Captain *Trevanion*. After he had got 7 or 8000 Men together, he broke

as has been ſaid, his Declaration, and call'd himſelf King *James* III. a Title which has hitherto furniſh'd us with nothing but Pretenders, and may the laſt have the ſame Fate, if he has the ſame Raſhneſs as the firſt. When he march'd Eaſtward, he left *Bath* and *Briſtol*, which he might eaſily have maſter'd, there being a Conſpiracy in the latter, to have open'd the Gates to him; and a Ship was ſet on Fire in the River, to draw the Militia that way, while his Friends admitted him. Inſtead of this, he was for advancing farther towards the Hills, and this gave the King's Forces an Opportunity to engage him at *Philipsnorton*, where, tho' he had the advantage by his Numbers, it was found his Men were not a Match for Regular Troops, and more ill Council was taken to retreat to the Weſt; upon which the Peaſants returning to their Wives and Families, left him, and took hold of the King's Pardon by Hundreds, inſomuch that when he Fought, he had not above 4000 Men. His Fighting when he did it, was like the reſt of his Conduct; he had ſent two of his beſt Troops of Horſe Twenty Miles to fetch Cannon, and would not ſtay for their return. If they had been in the Engagement to have made Head againſt the King's Horſe, the Iſſue had been doubtful; for his Foot did Wonders, and fought an Hour after they were abandon'd by his Horſe, moſt of them ſcarce fit for the Saddle. It is

remember'd in those Parts to this Day, that the Kings Regular Troops were at first put into Disorder by *Monmouth*'s raw unexperienc'd Men, who wanted nothing but Horse to support their Foot. What would have been the Consequence of his beating the King's Army there, I cannot determine; and perhaps it was a Chance the Prince of *Orange* ought not to have ventur'd; for who knows how far the Extasy of a People deliver'd from Popery, might have carry'd them. And if, as was said, the several Militia Regiments marching from *Surry*, *Hampshire*, *Berkshire*, *Wiltshire* and *Glocestershire*, were as much corrupted as those of *Somersetshire*, if by such Success, People of Condition had been encourag'd to espouse his Quarrel, the King having no more Disciplin'd Troops to oppose him, and Commotions threatning him, even in the City and the Neighbouring Counties, I question whether the Prince of *Orange*'s Offers would have been thought *unseasonable*, and whether the Prince's Foresight was not preferable to the Kings, who was in more danger, on account of the uncertainty of Mens Duty to a Prince of a contrary Religion than himself, or his Flatterers apprehended. But Providence reserv'd us for Happier Times, and the Reigns of Two Princesses, Queen *MARY* and Queen *ANNE*, whose Royal Virtues rendred them worthy of that Crown to which they had indeed a *Divine Right*, not owing to their Birth only, but also to

the Affection and Voice of the People, which, tho' at preſent it lyes under Diſgrace, will always be found to be that TITLE which makes a Crown ſet moſt eaſie.

The Duke of *Monmouth*'s Expedition was ſo little countenanc'd by the Nobility and Gentry, was ſo haſty and unadvis'd, that the Peril he once put King *James* in, was hardly ever thought of, and his whole Enterprize from firſt to laſt, is lookt upon as the Frolick of a Madman, tho' whatever it was in the Conception, in the Execution the odds were not at one time very great againſt him; and had the Battel of *Bridgwater* taken another Turn, which was not impoſſible, as appear'd by the Diſpute it ſelf, the Heads of the People might have turn'd with it. For my part, I cannot ſee what could have hinder'd his marching to *London*, where he was not ſo hated as to fear an ill Reception. And it is generally reported, that Coll. *Danvers*, Sir *Robert Peyton* and others, were to have appear'd in Arms in *Epping* Foreſt, at the Head of 3 or 4000 Horſe, privately Liſted for that Service, the very Day that News came of the *Rout* in the Weſt. Had theſe Deſigns ſucceeded, the Kings Reſource muſt have been in the Nobility, who probably would never have ſuffer'd that Duke to have carry'd his Point by the Rabble, ſo his Followers would have been Stil'd, whether they could then have prevented it

or not, I ſhall not be at the Trouble to conſider; but from all theſe Poſſibilities conclude, that the Prince of *Orange*'s Zeal for King *James*, was very Timely and Prudent. For it might have happen'd, that without his Aſſiſtance, or that of the *French* King, He might have been in as much Danger as ever he was at *Salisbury*, he having then an Army twice as numerous as the Prince of *Orange*'s. And it is not to be doubted he would have receiv'd the Prince's Offers more kindly, had he not always had an Eye to the *French* King. For as ſanguine as his Courtiers ſeem'd to be, they muſt know he had not the Hearts of his Subjects, and that *Monmouth* had been their Darling. The Love he had loſt by Misfortunes and Abſence, he would have recover'd by a very little Succeſs, having, as the Prince of *Orange* and all his Enemies acknowledg'd in the words of the Jeſuit, *a Warlike Genius, and knowing more of it than moſt of thoſe that were ſent againſt him*, which would have been no great *Encomium*, had not the Lord *Churchill* been one of them. For to be a better Soldier than the Dukes of *Albemarle* and *Beaufort*, a Man needed not have ſerv'd many Campaigns. It may not be diſagreeable to the *Reader*, to know the Formality the Duke us'd with the King's Commanders, whom he Summon'd to attend him, as particularly the Duke of *Albemarle*, who with a worſe Heart, had no better a Head than himſelf. But it

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was a very high Air the Duke of *Monmouth* gave himself, when he sent a Summons to the Lord *Churchil*, now Duke of *Marlborough*, to attend him with the Forces under his Command, requiring him to do it upon his Allegiance. My Lord was then at *Chard*, and had Sir *William Portman*'s Militia Regiment, a *Dorsetshire* Regiment, and some Regular Troops with him, with which he harraft the Duke's Army more than all the rest of the King's Forces, Regular or Militia. As to the Summons, his Lordship sent it to the King for a Jest, and the Trumpeter that brought it return'd muffled as he came, just so much the lighter.

That *Monmouth* was a *Man of mean Parts*, every Body allows, and one can hardly think otherwise of those that embarkt on his Bottom. The ill success of the Attempt answer'd the Design, and whatever Fortune did for him, was more than he ought to have expected. I am the longer on these things, because the Scene where they were acted, is well known to me, as were many of the Persons, though I cannot pretend from my own Memory to report what I saw, being too young to form any Judgement of it, or to distinguish right from wrong. As the Duke began rashly, so he persu'd and ended his Undertaking. The *Catastrophe* was as absurd as all the rest of it. He ran from *Sedgemore* with about thirty or forty Horse

Horſe *Eaſtward* into the very Mouths of his Enemies.

A Gentleman, now living, who kept him Company about twenty Miles, told him, he could not be longer Serviceable to him if he went *Eaſtward*, and adviſ'd him to take to a ſmall Creek in *Somerſetſhire*, call'd *Uphil*, from whence he might have been in *Wales* long before any News could come of his Defeat, and have met with Friends that would have conceal'd him. The Duke was poſting to *Limington*, flattering himſelf that all the Town were his Friends, becauſe Collonel *Dore*, who was then Mayor, was ſo, and had been ſecur'd, and that he might thence get a Ship to carry him off, but it was not likely he ſhould have time to do all this, when the Country was every where up in ſearch of him, and his laſt Diſgrace had made them all his Enemies. He being obſtinately bent upon making to the Sea-Coaſts of *Hampſhire*, that Gentleman and others left him to his Fate, which was not attended with ſo much Infamy as the Jeſuit repreſents it.

He was ſo far from *Quaking* and *Swooning* when he was taken, that he made Reſiſtance, and the Peaſants that diſcover'd him were afraid to meddle with him, till Soldiers came to help them. As to his writing to King *James*, it was one of the greateſt ſigns of Weakneſs he ever ſhew'd; for a Man muſt have a ſmall Capacity who had known ſo much of that King

King, and cou'd imagine there was Mercy in his Nature for ſuch an Offender. *Thus*, ſays Father *Orleans*, *he was turn'd over to the Judges.* Could not his Majeſty have inform'd him, that thoſe Judges were only the Sheriffs and Hangmen; and was it Generous for a Prince to admit ſuch a Reflection as this on his Enemy, the Son of his Brother, who had fallen by the Ax, and given Satisfaction for the Injuries he had done him, *That he had a Soul more mean than it was wicked, and that Meanneſs made it fit for the greateſt Villanies.* That Meanneſs of Soul did not however appear in the laſt Scene of his Life, when in Souls of the Size he makes the Duke's to be, it is always moſt viſible. He dy'd with as much Firmneſs as he fought, and the Reſiſtance he made to ſome Doctors that teaz'd him in vain on the Schaffold, to profeſs the Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience*, was as Heroick, as if his Underſtanding had been equal to his Courage.

Doctor Hooper, *Dr.* Ken, &c.

I would not have it thought, that becauſe I am not for abuſing him, as the *French* Hiſtorian does, I therefore approve his Uſurpation. I look upon it to be as Criminal as it was Raſh, and that his Cauſe was as bad as his Fortune; but I cannot help believing that many of his Followers meant well, and ſome of them were ſo fooliſh as to fancy they were doing no more Harm then, than when afterwards they came over with the Prince of *Orange*, as did Collonel *Matthews*, Col-

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lonel *Foulks*, and others; or that King *James*, who call'd those who join'd the Prince Rebels before he was beaten, would afterwards, if such had been his Lot, have given them better Words or Usage. And yet that does not mend the Matter with Respect to the Duke of *Monmouth*; for he had no Invitation of Lords and Commons, no Right to the Succession, and no Call to disturb the Peace of his Country, but his Despair. The Deluded People that follow'd him were dealt with in the most bloody and inhumane Manner, hundreds were slaughter'd in cold Blood after the Action, and such was the Rage of the King's *Hugonot* General the Earl of *Feversham*, that he threatned to complain of a young Officer, now a General in Her Majesty's Service, for preventing the Murder of five or six of those Wretches, whom his Soldiers were about to put to the Sword. Father *Orleans* takes Notice of the Butcheries that were committed in the *West* by the Form of Law, with which he says the King himself was highly displeased. He words the condemning Men by hundreds, and Hanging, Drawing and Quartering them in every Town for threescore Miles about, from *Bristol* to *Exeter*, in such Phrase, as if the Judges had been breaking Heads or Windows. *The King*, says he, *was informed of those Disorders too late; but as soon as it came to his Ears, he expresl his Displeasure, and though the Services performed by those*

Brigadier M——t.

that

that were accus'd prevail'd with him to ſpare them, He as far as in him lay, made amends for their Injuſtice. How, I pray, did he ſpare them? How make amends for their Injuſtice? Why, by making the chief Offender Lord High Chancellor; for no ſooner did *Jefferies* return from making the *Weſt* ſwim with Proteſtant Blood, than he had the Great Seal given him. Is it not a pretty *French* Term to ſay, that the hanging a Man, the ſeizing his Eſtate and Goods, is to do *him an Injuſtice*, and is it not a very fine way of making Amends for murdering three or four hundred Men, and murder'd they muſt be if they dy'd unjuſtly, to give off and hang no more. The Father boaſting that *all were pardon'd that were ſtill capable of receiving Mercy.* I might give ſome Inſtances of that Injuſtice, as of a Man's being hang'd for paying Three Pence for Hay for one of *Monmouth*'s Horſe-men to prevent the Fellows beating the Innkeeper who demanded it, and a Father ſerv'd after the ſame cruel manner, for going to *Monmouth*'s Camp to fetch back his Son, whom he had charg'd not to engage in that Buſineſs. Both Father and Son I knew, and could fill a Volume with ſuch Examples of *Jefferies*'s Service, if the Story was not too ſtale, and the nice Readers of theſe Times were not all for Novelty. I ſhall only tell how the Jeſuit deſcribes this Judge's executing his Commiſſion, and then leave it to the World

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to determine what Amends may be expected from a *Popish* King for such Acts of Injustice. *More or less Guilt*, says this *French* Priest, *was not then made the Motive of inflicting Punishments, or shewing Compassion, but those who were least able to buy themselves off paid dearest, and if many lost their Lives, it was because few had Money enough to save them.* Mr. *Prideaux*, Father in Law of that worthy Gentleman *Francis Gwin* Esq; was forc'd to give *Jefferies* almost 15000 *l.* to prevent being try'd for High Treason, though had the Law at that time been any thing more than Form, he could have done him no more Hurt then than he can now. I cannot forget the Barbarity of *one of those Commission'd to dispence the King's Rigor or Mercy*, as the Jesuit phrases it, who would have bargain'd with a young Lady for her Honour, to save the Life of her Lover Mr. *Baliscomb*, and insulted her with the same Terms he made use of in the Stews. Nor is this Scandal, but Fact, easily to be prov'd, if any ones Faith is too delicate to be satisfy'd with a Report confirm'd by the Lady her self, and thus deliver'd to him. It may be imagin'd, that this Cruelty must be *Kirk*'s, but tho that Officer was never so bloody to the *Moors* as he was to his Countrymen, yet he had more Gallantry, if not more Pity, than to be guilty of such Inhumanity too infamous to be laid at any ones Door, either Dead or Living. The Jesuit cannot forgive Collonel *Kirk*'s early joyning

ing the Prince of *Orange*, and therefore it is that he loads him heavily with this Guilt, of which certainly none can clear him, and after the Revolution he was charg'd home for it by Collonel *Foulks*, when they were in the ſame Service, King *William*'s, and by ſeveral others in the ſame Circumſtances. He always expreſt a Horror for what was done, tho' done by himſelf, proteſting his Commiſſion went ſtill farther, and that he had put a Reſtraint on the Power and the Inſtructions that were given him. The Truth of which depends on the Credit of the Jeſuit and the Collonel. The former I have convicted, and ſhall convict of many Falſities: The latter was a Man of Honour by his Poſt, and whoſe Word has moſt weight with it, let the Reader judge for himſelf.

Whatever the *French* Prieſt ſays of King *James*'s being diſpleas'd with *Jefferies*, for his Cruelty, I cannot think but it was pleaſing to him. Sir *John Hawles*, in his Remarks on *Colledge*'s Tryal, ſays of his Uſage, 'It was ſome-"what of Kin to the late Practice in "the *Weſt*, where many Men were "hang'd for having old *Jewiſh* Names, "as *Obediah*, or the like, with a Jeſt, "that their God-fathers hang'd them. And another Author wrote afterwards thus:

"Was the ſtrange Eſſays of Male-"content Government acted at *Taunton*

"and

" and *Lyme*, and the no less strange " Proceedings of the Bloody Chief Ju- " Justice in his *Western* Circuit, (justly " term'd) his *Campaign*; for it was an " open Hostility to all Law; for which, " and the like Services, he had the " Reward of the *Great Seal*; nothing but " Calumny.

I should remember here the extraordiry Mercy of King *James* to the Lord *Grey*, afterwards Earl of *Tankerville*. *So great*, says the Jesuit, *as gave occasion to say, he betray'd the Party*; which was generally believ'd in the *West*, from that Lord's leaving the Field so soon with the Duke's Horse, though I wonder rather how they stood so long. It was said he rally'd the Duke after they were taken on *his Head-aching*, and behav'd himself as if he had a Pardon in his Pocket. Several Causes of Disguft are also reported, as the preferring some Men to Posts in the Army, which that Lord would have given to others: Nay, some go back so far as their mutual Amours, and pretend the Lord *Grey* betray'd him to Revenge a former Jealousy, all which I take to be imaginary Guesses, and that the truest Reason of his Majesty's super-abundant Tenderness, was a Parcel of my Lord's Estate, to the value of about 3000 *l.* a Year given to an Unkle of the King's, by a good Grant three Years and a half before the 13th of *February* 1688, and therefore in no danger of a Resumption.

I have

I have now done with the Duke of *Monmouth*, flattering my ſelf, that what I have ſaid being no where elſe to be found, and coming from a Perſon who, after having in his Youth been a Witneſs of thoſe Tranſactions, has had many Opportunities to inform himſelf further of them on the ſpot, will not be diſagreeable to the Publick, tho' the Date of it is older than the Revolution. I have in this and every thing elſe taken the utmoſt care to ſpeak from the beſt Authority. 'Tis true the Perſons I have conſulted, have been good Proteſtants and good Subjects to King *William* and Queen *Anne*, but I hope they will not be the worſe thought of for that. And I look'd into theſe Matters chiefly with an Intention to ſhew what Treatment Proteſtants might expect from a Popiſh King, if they have reſiſted him, and he once has it in his Power to ſhew his *Rigour and his Mercy*; not that I have any Fears upon me of ſuch Danger to us in *England*, we have a Glorious and Gracious Proteſtant Queen, whom God long preſerve on the Throne; we have many Loyal Addreſſes to ſupport the Proteſtant Succeſſion in the Illuſtrious Houſe of *Hanover*, and whenever Demiſe happens, it will, I doubt not, be effectually ſupported. But there are ſome ſo wicked, as to diſcover an Inclination to a *French* Pretender, who after Four and twenty Years Exile, would have Work enough for fifty ſuch Servants as the Chancellor *Jefferies*, and his Faithful, Induſtrious, Diſintereſt-

ed Clerk, who made the *Western* Campaign with him, and is now living not far from *Aylesbury*, to tell us the History of it, at a very good Seat; the Purchase of this Service and others of the like Nature, though not of so Crimson a Dye.

I should be of the Opinion of those who think there is a sort of Ingratitude in us, in remembring the Faults of a Father, in whose Daughters we have been so happy. If for what ends it is not hard to perceive, some Men were not of late extenuating those Faults, and endeavouring to give us a Disgust of the Revolution which they occasion'd. This being effected, it follows of course, that we did him an Injustice in renouncing Allegiance to him, and since we cannot make Restitution to him, it remains that we do it to his Son, who would doubtless make us a rare Master, after he has been so well educated under the *French* King, and his pretended Mother Queen *Mary*, who has not spar'd for Pains to instruct him well in the Lessons of Revenge of her own and her Husband's Sufferings. What have we got by the War, say the Friends of *France* and the Pretender? as if our Religion, our Liberties and Properties were nothing: For all which the Confederates fought as well as we, in joyning with us against *France*, who would, without such assistance, have long ago impos'd our old King, or a new one upon us. How the former would have

have behav'd himſelf, ſupported by a *French* Army, 'tis eaſy to imagine by his Behaviour, when he had only an *Engliſh* one. Father *Orleans* obſerves, *All Things ſeem'd to promiſe him a ſettled Felicity, having a Victorious Army on foot.* The main Happineſs of a Monarch is, according to this Writer, in a Powerful Militia to execute his Will, and that we did not want in King *James*'s time, and ſhould never want in his Son's. He aſſures us King *James*'s Religion was his Ruin; not as he was *Papiſt*, but as he had too much of it. As alſo that *he never inclined to take the worſt Method, but abſolutely in regard to the welfare of his Nation.* Was *his diſpenſing with, and ſuſpending of Laws; his ſetting up the High Commiſſion'd Court; his levying Money by Pretence of Prerogative; his keeping a ſtandiag Army, and his Quartering Soldiers contrary to Law; his violating the Freedom of Election of Members of Parliament; his proſecuting Cauſes in the King's-Bench, only Cognizable in Parliament*, of all which I ſhall ſpeak further in the ſequel of this Hiſtory, *for the* Welfare of his Nation. Was it for their *Welfare, to have Partial, Corrupt, and unqualified Furors, Exceſſive Bails and Fines, Illegal and Cruel Puniſhments*, with other ſuch Inſtances of his Love to his People, which he ſhew'd moſt, in admitting them to hear *Common Prayer*, when he himſelf heard *Maſs*. The Jeſuit crying up his Condeſcention, in ſuffering the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to put the Crown on his and his Queen's Head,

which he could not very well anſwer to his Religion. It is worthy our Notice how he extols his Majeſty's Moderation, in deſiring only that ſome of his *Popiſh* Officers might keep their Illegal Commiſſions, whereas he might have employ'd none but *Papiſts*, if he would; and the Reaſon he gives for it is admirable, becauſe all the Nation were *Catholicks* in the Time of St. *Edward the Confeſſor*. He could not have pickt out ſuch another Reign to have matcht with King *James*'s. The Court being all *Papiſts*, and *Frenchify'd*, and the King having given his Kingdom to the *French*, who accordingly conquer'd it not long after under *William* the Baſtard. The Prieſt, who by the way was a Confident of the King, and had what he wrote from King *James* himſelf, reflects further on his extraordinary Moderation as an unpardonable Fault; for that *if he had employ'd more Popiſh Officers it could not have made more Noiſe, and he had been better ſerv'd*. This Error no doubt will be remedy'd, if ever we ſhould have the Curſe of a *Papiſt* for our King again. Let us not therefore forget that we had ſuch a one that we thought our Church, our Eſtates, our Liberties, and every thing in the utmoſt danger. Did we then talk *of Loyalty without Limits, and Obedience without Reſerve of abſolute and unlimited Subjection to Oppreſſive, Tyrannical and Unjuſt Governors*, As *A*——*y* and others of the ſame Conſcience have preach'd lately? Did we think that we muſt not

not reſiſt *to ſave the whole World from Damnation*, as Pious Biſhop *Sanderſon* has it. No, no, our Fright ſet the Truth before our Eyes, and we then talk'd reaſonably, when our All was at ſtake, as now we are ſafe we talk Nonſence out of Wantonneſs, or revive the old exploded Principles to bring us again into the like Peril. How the Clergy carry'd themſelves at that Time we ſhall ſee in the *French* Hiſtory. *The Miniſtry of the Church of* England *in ſome Places had the Boldneſs publickly to preach againſt their Sovereign's Conduct, and againſt thoſe he exempted from the Rigor of the Laws.* *Dr.* Sharp, *Parſon of St.* Giles's, *was very remarkable in this Particular, inveighing in his Sermons againſt the Catholicks, in ſuch manner as the moſt Zealous Proteſtants diſapprov'd and thought too violent.* Did King *James* find it ſo? Was the Doctor diſown'd by his Dioceſan, and inſtead of diſapproving, did not all Proteſtants think themſelves highly oblig'd to that Reverend Divine for ſo boldly aſſerting the Truth of our Religion in oppoſition to the Idolatry of the Church of *Rome*? But if our Obedience to the moſt Oppreſſive and Unjuſt Governors be without Reſerve, how could that learned Doctor anſwer ſuch his Zeal to what follows of the Jeſuit's Hiſtory. *That the King ever ſince he firſt deſigned to tolerate and encourage Popery, had foreſeen he ſhould be attack'd by the Proteſtant Preachers; in order to curb whom, he put out Inſtructions, wherein, among other things, they were forbid meddling*

in their Sermons with Matters of State, bringing in Queſtion the Rights of Subjects and Soveraigns, handling certain Points in Divinity, &c. But, ſays this Prieſt, *Theſe Injunctions did not hinder the Parſon of* St. Giles's *from breaking looſe, he tranſgreſſed ſeveral of them in a Sermon, and there was danger of his continuing ſo, had not ſome Remedy been apply'd.* It was this which he aſſures us made the King ſet up the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion Court, and ſays he, *As ſoon as it was erected the Biſhop of* London, *and that railing Parſon were ſummoned before it. The Biſhop could hardly be brought to own the Juriſdiction of the Court, notwithſtanding the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *his Metropolitan, was one of the Commiſſioners.* Did not the King know the Archbiſhop refus'd to act in it, or to acknowledge its Juriſdiction any more than the Biſhop of *London?* Why then this Jeſuitical Evaſion, ſo much below the Honour and Sincerity of a King, eſpecially of one who has ſuch a Character for Sanctity, that it is not to be doubted he will be made a Saint at the next Promotion. To ſhew how moderate he was in his advancing Papiſts, you have Father *Orleans*'s Word, that he never preferr'd any of them, but theſe following to be

Privy

Privy Councellors.

The Earl of *Powis*,
The Earl of *Peterborough*,
The Earl of *Caſtlemain*,
The Earl of *Tyrconnel*,
The Lord *Arundel*,
The Lord *Dover*,
He forgot the Earl of *Melfort*,
The Lord *Waldgrave*,
Father *Petre*,
Sir *Nicholas Butler*,

And others, too well known to be mentioned, which with the new Converts, made almoſt half of that Board. He gives us his Word, that there was no Catholicks preferr'd to any Governments, But

The Lord *Widdrington*,
The Lord *Langdale*,
Sir *Edmund Hales*, and the
Earl of *Tyrconnel*.

Ten times the Number of theſe and Lord Lieutenants, Deputy Lieutenants, and Sheriffs of Counties, beſides Juſtices of the Peace, might be nam'd, if it was neceſſary.

In the Army there was very few Popiſh Officers, if you will believe him, But

The Duke of *Berwick*,
The Lord *Dover*,
The Lord *Dunbarton*,
Collonel *Hamilton*,

He has forgot Mr. *Fitz James*, who commanded the Princeſs's Regiment.

Collonel *Henry Lutterell*,
Collonel *Gage*,
The Earl of *Peterborough*,
Collonel *Carne*,
Collonel *Butler*,
Collonel *Wachop*,
Lord *Forbes*,
Collonel *Mac Elliot*,
Collonel *Douglaſs*,
Collonel *Rochan*, and as many more.

In the Fleet he ſays there was only Sir *Roger Strickland*.

Theſe were the ſmall Numbers of Catholicks employ'd by King *James*, according to his Majeſty's Memoirs, except a few in Civil Poſts, as the

The Lord *Howard*,
Sir —— *Titchburn*,
Mr. *Brown*, and
Mr. *Porter*.

So that were this Liſt right, and this is the Liſt the Jeſuit had from the King, as he pretends, there were not above twenty Papiſts in Employments of Note, during his Reign; whereas we cannot but remember

member there was hardly one confiderable Poſt, Civil or Military, which was not fill'd by Papiſt, or their Tools, even to the Judges and Biſhops, as faſt as vacancies fell. The Turn he gives to the Proceedings againſt *Magdalen* Colledge, where Dr. *Hough* and the Fellows made that noble Stand in Defence of their Rights and Privileges, is very extraordinary. *Biſhop* Gifford, ſays he, *was made Preſident of* Magdalen *Colledge in* Oxford, *with ſome other Doctors of the King's Religion, to chaſtize the Refractory Proteſtants, who had oppos'd his appointing one of their own.* His Majeſty all the while knowing much better than I do, that it was not his Right but that of the Fellows to chuſe their Head, and that they had accordingly choſen Dr. *Hough*, purſuant to the Statutes of their Houſe, which they were ſworn to preſerve. I would deſire the Reader to take with him all along, as he runs over theſe Reflections, that I am as ſenſible as he can be, how ridiculous it is to reflect on the Writings of a *French* Jeſuit, concerning our Affairs. We may be ſure they will not have a true Word in them that does not make for his Religion, which cannot well be expected in the Hiſtory of a Nation that has it in ſuch Deteſtation; and I ſhould have left it to the Contempt it deſerves, if People did not begin to ſpeak favourably of it, becauſe of the Hand the Author ſays our Abdicated King had in it.

I ſhould

I ſhould not have made any Obſervations on the Jeſuit's Account, of King *James*'s *Cloſetting* the Members of Parliament by fair Words and Threats, to engage them to conſent to the taking off the Penal Laws and Teſt, had not his Excuſe for thoſe *Private Conferences*, as he calls them, been very extraordinary. That it was done by Two Kings before, King *Edward* II. and King *Richard* III. the former depos'd, and one would think he ſhould have been an Example of another kind to King *James*. The latter would probably have had the ſame Fate, if he had not been kill'd in Battel, leaving behind Him the Character of a Murderer and Uſurper. And yet as to theſe Two Princes, the Father owns the Parliament deſir'd King *Edward* to confer ſeparately with the Members, and compell'd King *Richard* to do it almoſt againſt his Will. Was there any thing like this in King *James*'s *Cloſettings*? Was he intreated or forc'd to do it? Did the Succeſs of it ſhow that the People were pleas'd with it? His Majeſty was not content to Cloſet the Parliament Men, He had his Private Conferences with the Officers of the Army, and all others that had Civil Poſts of any Conſideration, in which Threats were not wanting that they ſhould loſe them, if they did not comply. Wonderful is the Steddineſs the *Engliſh* Gentlemen ſhew'd on this Occaſion; and in the Army, where there were ſeveral *Tangieren* Officers, otherwiſe as Lewd as Lewdneſs could make them, yet

out

out of a Principle of Honour, to be true to the Religion they profeſt; they gave the King to underſtand they could not comply with him in that Point, and *Kirk* in particular, is reported to have reply'd merrily, *That having been in the Emperor of* Morocco's *Court*, as he was on ſome Affairs relating to the Garriſon of *Tangier*, *he had promis'd the Emperor, that whenever he chang'd his Religion, he would turn* Turk; *and he could not be a* Catholick *till he was diſcharg'd of that Promiſe.* Whether his Diſcretion or good Manners would ſuffer him to uſe that Freedom with a Prince who was not in Love with Jeſts, I ſhall not conſider; but give it as I found it deliver'd by Common Fame. It is certain he anſwer'd very bluntly, and from that time loſt the King's Favour, of which he had till then a ſhare, for his Services in the Weſt.

The *French* Prieſt, who had ſo often conſulted King *James*, was never told, it ſeems, that by the Laws of *England*, it is High Treaſon for an *Engliſh* Man to act as an *Engliſh* Miniſter in the Court of *Rome*; for he tells us his Majeſty thought *No Fault would be found with Him, for ſending an Ambaſſador Extraordinary to* Rome, *for the Direction of his Conſcience.* On which Errand, was ſent the Earl of *Caſtlemain*, to whoſe Direction there was ſcarce a Man in *England* beſides the King, who would have left his Conſcience. And why might not he have an Ambaſſador at *Rome* as well as at *Conſtantinople*, and a Nuntio from the Pope, as well as an Envoy from *Fez*?

Why

Why truly, if the Laws were not againſt it, and we had as much Buſineſs to do with the Pope as with the Grand Signior, and the King of *Fez*, I ſhould be very willing to put his Holineſs on equal Foot with thoſe Two Infidels. But ſince we can have no ſuch Correſpondence with him, without Sacrificing our Laws and our Religion, and have no Affairs to Negotiate with him but what muſt be Treaſonable, the Fault was much leſs in taking Care of our Commerce to *Turky* and *Barbary*, than in ſending a Miniſter to *Rome* for Bulls and Indulgences.

The great Integrity of our Hiſtoriographer Royal, appears in the Excuſe he makes for King *James*'s haſty Zeal to bring in his own Religion in theſe Kingdoms. He ſays, *The Church of* England *was in an Uproar, only becauſe Maſs was ſuffer'd to be ſaid; two or three Popiſh Chapels and Schools were opened, ſome* Papiſts *that had been injur'd, were righted*; Oates *was Pillory'd, and ſome Libellers and Seditious Preachers puniſh'd*. This he pretends is all, and he wonders that for ſuch Trifles, there ſhould be any in *France*, *who thought King* James's *Conduct too hot*. We have in the former Pages mention'd ſome other Piccadillo's, as the *Diſpencing with our Laws, the Raiſing of Armies, the Levying of Money, the Violating the Freedom of Elections, Impriſoning our Biſhops, Invading the Rights of our Countries, Exceſſive Fines, unheard of Cruelties in Puniſhment*, and the like. To which might be added *Quo Quarranto*'s, *Quartering*

ing of Soldiers, Hanging by Martial Law; the Disarming of Protestants, and sending for an Army of Irish *Papists*, to use the Words of the *Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons Assembled at* Westminster. *His Endeavours, by the Assistance of divers Evil Councellors, Judges and Ministers, to subject and extirpate the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom.* Yet the *French* Priest reduces all *His Faults to Ten or Twelve Facts purposely pack'd together, to make the greater Show*, which he admires the *French* should think much of, because it is at the worst, but Four Faults to a Kingdom, and Three Faults to a Year. *They should compare*, says he, *those Ten or Twelve Facts, with the Extent of Three Kingdoms, and the Term of Four Years.* All which put together, he cannot help being in an Amazement, that so Zealous a King as *He, should do so little, and that He did it so slowly.* The Jesuits you see, are for quick Work, and we find what we must trust to, if ever we should have a King of so much Bigotry again, He will not be Four Years doing his Business, a Comfortable Reflection for such as have taken long Leases of Abby-Lands, and have good Incomes on Protestant Funds, of Ninety Nine, or Thirty Two Years standing.

The next Paragraph of this *History*, contains a Calumny so Notoriously False, that if his Masters Conscience could admit of its being Publish'd, methinks common Discretion should have prevented it, if

if Popiſh Zeal were capable of being Diſcreet. For who is there will believe, that the *Lords Spiritual and Temporal* and the Gentlemen of *England* who Invited over the Prince of *Orange*, were drawn in by thoſe that had before form'd the *Rye-Houſe* Plot? Was ever Slander ſo Wicked, ſo Impudent, and yet ſo Abſurd? *The* Shaftsburian *Faction riſing again, as it were out of its Aſhes*, ſays the Jeſuit, *made uſe of an Argument like that of the* Jews, *when they Crucify'd* CHRIST, *that the* Romans *would engroſs all the Employments. To prove this, they produc'd ſome Inſtances, which tho' few in Number, were nevertheleſs blameable.* Again, *The Confederacy was the eaſier, becauſe the Faction, after the Example of* Shaftsbury, *their Old Head, diſcover'd but half their Deſign*; Were the Earls of *Wiltſhire* and *Shrewſbury*, now Dukes of *Bolton* and *Shrewsbury*, the Lord *Mordant*, now Earl of *Peterborough*, the Earl of *Macclesfield* who came over with the Prince of *Shaftbury*'s Faction? Were the Dukes of *Ormond* and *Graſton*, the Earls of *Oxford*, *Bath*, *Abingdon* and *Clarendon*, and the other Lords who joyn'd him in the Weſt in *Shaftbury*'s Conſpiracy? Not to mention the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Leeds*, the Earls of *Devonſhire*, *Northampton*, *Scarborough*, and the Lords of the Eaſtern and Northern Aſſociations? Could he dare to aſſert, that their Royal Highneſſes the Prince and Princeſs of *Denmark*, were influenc'd by the ſame Conſpirators that had *Shafts-*

bury

bury for their Head? Was ever Malice and Inſolence like this; but it is no ſtrange thing, that a *French* Jeſuit ſhou'd talk thus of the *Engliſh* Nobility and Gentry, who ſo generally eſpous'd that Cauſe the Prince of *Orange* came to defend; which King *James*, before he fled to *France*, had by the Pen of a State Writer, the *Remarker on the Princes Declaration*, told us was the worſt Rebellion that ever was in *England*. *If theſe things*, ſays the Remarker, *could not vindicate the Presbyterian Plotters in the late Kings Reign, or* Monmouths *Rebellion, it cannot excuſe the preſent Undertaking, for this doth infinitely exceed thoſe and the Civil War.* This is ſufficient to ſhew upon what Terms thoſe Noble Lords ſtood with his Majeſty, and that whatever Flouriſhes the Friends to the ſame Arbitrary Power which ruin'd King *James*, may give to that Event; telling us both in the Pulpit, and out of it, that there was no *Reſiſtance* at the Revolution, King *James* would have treated them as he did *Monmouth*'s Men, looking upon them to be as great Rebels as ever thoſe of the Grand Rebellion in *Forty One*, which we are ſo often, and ſo Eloquently put in mind of. This no Body ſure can queſtion, or we might prove the Denomination K. *James*'s Court gave to all the Lords that were with the Prince, by an Anſwer put out to the Petition of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal for a Free Parliament; that they could not meet themſelves, nor be allow'd Proxies,

Proxes, *because they were in Rebellion*, which I hope is *Reſiſtance with a Vengeance*, and they would have paid for it accordingly, had *Feverſham* ſucceeded as well this Year with an Army of 30000 Men, as he did with 3000, Three Years before. Nor would thoſe who actually joyn'd the Prince, or took Arms in other Parts on the ſame Account, have been only treated as Rebels. The ſenſe of the King and Court, was explain'd in a Treatiſe call'd the *Dutch Deſign Anatomiz'd*, where the Propoſals preſented by

William, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*,
Francis, Lord Biſhop of *Ely*,
John, Lord Biſhop of *Chicheſter*,
Thomas, Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter*,
Thomas, Lord Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*,
Thomas, Lord Biſhop of *Peterborough*,
Henry, Lord Biſhop of *London*,
Peter, Lord Biſhop of *Wincheſter*,
William, Lord Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*,

were put on the ſame Level with the Prince of *Orange*'s Declaration, which, as may be ſeen by the Proclamation of the ſecond of *November* 1688, whoever *repeated*, *or handed about*, was to be Hang'd, Drawn and Quarter'd. What then muſt thoſe Reverend Prelates have expected, had the Prince been driven from *England*, as he drove King *James* from *Ireland*? For that Author has the Confidence to tell us, *The Forg'd Heads of the Prince's Declaration, and the Biſhops Ten Propoſals, are known to be the*

the Contrivance of the Kings Enemies, form'd on purpoſe to amuſe the People, and make them believe the ſetting us at Rights, is the very Deſign of the Dutch; and which proves plainly enough, that if the Deſign had miſcarry'd, not only the Redreſs of the Grievances complain'd of in the *Declaration*, and in the *Propoſals*, was utterly to be diſpair'd of, but thoſe that had made them were already Arraign'd for his Enemies, and accordingly to be treated. For, ſays the ſame Author, *If out of Peeviſh Stubbornneſs, ſome will ſit ſtill and not aſſiſt the King at this Juncture, or very wrongly joyn with the Invaders, what can they expect from his Victorious Arms, but the Puniſhment due to their Perfidiouſneſs.* What ſignifies then the Ridiculous Diſpute, whether there was any *Reſiſtance* at the *Revolution* or not, whether any Body was knockt on the Head at *Wincaunton, Cirencester, Twyford, Maidnehead?* In ſhort, at the *Boyne, Aghrim*, or any where elſe; the Signing that Petition contrary to the then Government, was as bad in the Opinion of the Court, as drawing the Sword to oppoſe his Majeſty's Will and Pleaſure, as bad as drawing up the Pr. of *Orange*'s Declaration, and that as bad as the Rebellion in *Forty One*, as has been already obſerv'd. Thus Dr. *Ken* was in as much Danger as Dr. *Burnet*, and as much a Rebel in King *James*'s Opinion, as if he had taken the Oath to the Prince he Invited over, and kept his Biſhoprick. Tho' after the Example of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, he refus'd to Swear Allegiance to King *William*, whom they

both were so Instrumental in making King. After the King, as has been already mention'd, had declar'd all those that joyn'd the Prince of *Orange* Rebels, and while his Majesty was still in *England*, the Arch-Bishop, the Bishops of *Ely* and *Peterborow*, who lost their Bishopricks, for not taking the Oaths to the Government, which the Law enjoyn'd, Sign'd a Declaration at *Guild-Hall*, wherein, among other things, they promise *To assist his Highness with their utmost Endeavours*, and took upon them to turn the Kings Lieutenant, Sir *Bevil Skelton* out of the *Tower*, and put the Lord *Lucas* in his Place, to whom the Arch-Bishop himself gave the Keys. But this you will say was not *Resistance*, there was no Blood shed. All was done peaceably and voluntarily. It would have been a pretty Argument, had King *James* prevail'd to have been urg'd against an Indictment of High Treason, for *Aiding and Abetting* the Prince, contrary to the Proclamation of the Sixth of *November*, 1688. that made the doing of it Rebellion. I am not sollicitous to know the Reason that induc'd the Nonjuring Bishops to desert their Revolution Principles, when the Cause was accomplish'd. I cannot account for Men's Weaknesses, Fears, Hopes, Vanity, Stubbornness or Humour, For as to the Guilt of it, every Man who set his Name to the Lords Declaration at *Guild-hall*, was as deep in the Mire, as much a Rebel, according to the King's Sentiments, as those that Voted for the

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Vacancy of the Throne, and to fill it up with their Deliverer, who in Right of his Wife, was next in Succeſſion. It is no Secret, that there were ſeveral Meetings of the Biſhops at *Lambeth*, to conſider what ſhould be done, and that it was more than once reſolv'd, that they ſhould Conform. Biſhop *Ken* being attended by ſeveral of his Clergy at *Wells*, before he came to Parliament, they ask'd his Advice concerning the Oaths, and he then gave it that they ſhould take them, intending, as he ſaid, ſo to do himſelf. But on the News of King *James*'s Preparations, for *Ireland*, and afterwards of his Landing there, their Flights of Popery being pretty well over, and Perſons at the Helm, for whom they had no great Reſpect, Scruples upon Scruples aroſe. And tho' the Arch-Biſhop had granted his Commiſſion to other Biſhops, to Conſecrate Dr. *Burnet* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, every whit as Criminal as if he had done it himſelf, if it was a Crime at all, yet having profeſt, that he could not in Conſcience Swear to the New King he was loth to recede from it, and his Example was follow'd by his Brethren the Nonjurors. Father *Orleans* tells us, that Six of the Seven Biſhops who were Committed to the Tower, refus'd the Oaths to King *William*, which was to make the moſt of them he could. For it is certain, the Biſhops of St. *Aſaph* and *Briſtol*, did take the Oaths, and their Lordſhips, the preſent Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Worceſter*, have approv'd themſelves as

Hearty Friends to the Eſtabliſhment, and as great Enemies to *France* as any of their Order; which receives as much Honour from the Prelates that are now of it, as it gives to them.

I have in the foregoing Pages not kept my ſelf in every thing, to the exact Order of Chronology, chuſing rather to remember ſuch Events as had relation to any remarkable Occurrence under that Head, than to bring them in when they happen'd, thus clear the Matter at once, and ſet it in its full Light.

The good Father ſpeaking of the Precaution the Prince of *Orange* took before he enter'd upon his Expedition, to fortifie himſelf with Foreign Alliances, upbraids him with undermining King *James* therein, *who had made a League with* Spain, *and had no particular One with* France, *but he was the* French *King's Perſonal Friend and Kinſman.* I have often ſmil'd at that mighty Argument made uſe of by the *French* King, with reſpect to King *Charles* and King *James*, that they were Akin to him. The Emperor and the King of *Spain*, whoſe Dominions he was perpetually ſpoiling and raviſhing from them, were nearer Related to His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty than our Two Kings could pretend to be; ſo near, that his Sons had been the next Heir to the *Spaniſh* Succeſſion, had it not been for that Solemn Renunciation Sworn again and again, at his Marriage with the King of *Spain's* Siſter his own *Couſin German* too. But it was the beſt Reaſon he had for

Leaguing

Leaguing with theſe Princes, whoſe true Intereſts were as oppoſite to his, as Liberty is to Slavery. He muſt help King *James* to enſlave his Subjects, and bring in Popery, becauſe he loves him, and is his Couſin. Not in purſuance of any Private League. It is very plain, there was no ſuch thing, you have the Marquis *D' Albyville*, and the Jeſuits Words for it: And all you have againſt it, is the Count *De Avaux*, and the States of *Holland*, who in their Anſwer to the Marquiſs's Memorial, tell him, *They were long ſince fully convinc'd of the Alliance which the King his Maſter had Treated with* France, *and which had been mention'd to them by* Monſieur Le Conte De Avaux *in his Memorial.* This Matter is amply diſcuſs'd in the Firſt Part of this Hiſtory, and I think no reaſonable Man has any room to diſpute it. The Pope, the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, and the States of *Holland*, believ'd it. It was this occaſion'd the League of *Augsburgh*, and King *James* never gave himſelf any Trouble to undeceive them. The *French* King preſs him to let a Squadron of his Men of War joyn the *Engliſh* Fleet, before the Prince's Deſign for *England* was known, my Lord *Sunderland* ſays in his Letter, French *Ships were offer'd to joyn with our Fleet.* And after this, *Since the Noiſe of the Prince's Deſign, more Ships were offer'd, and it was agreed how they ſhould be Commanded.* Yet the Father *Orleans* is very angry with the Prince of *Orange*, *for rendring the King his Father-in-Law, ſuſpected*

to the Houſe of Auſtria, *as a Prince ill affected to its Projects, and ſtrictly united in Intereſt to* France, which *Coleman* had been ſo frank as to own many Years before, *and that the* French *King and the Duke of* York's *Intereſts were inſeparable.* I ſhall have Occaſion hereafter, to ſpeak of the Share Foreign Princes had in the *Revolution*, and ſhall therefore ſay nothing now of the Intrigues of the Marquis *De Caſtanaga*, Governor of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and *Don Pedro de Ronquillo*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador in *England*, of whom the *French* Hiſtorian makes mention as concern'd in it. The latter ſollicited King *James* to enter into the *Augsburgh* Confederacy, but his Majeſty would not hear of it, anſwering, ſays the Jeſuit, very directly, *That he muſt not interrupt the Friendſhip there was between him and the Moſt Chriſtian King his Kinſman, who was willing to live in Peace with his Neighbours.* At which time, was his Majeſty's Couſin preparing to fall upon the Empire by Surprize, and ſoon after made that Terrible Inroad into *Germany*, where he laid the Palatinate in Aſhes and Blood, and ſeiz'd a great part of the Electorates of *Cologn*, *Mentz* and *Triers*.

The *French* Hiſtorian quarrels with the *Dutch* for not ſending over King *James* Six Regiments which were *Mackays*, *Balforts*, *Talmaſh*, *Belliſes*, *Waſhops* and *Offerys*, all of them engag'd in the Prince's Service, and all came over with him. *It was given out among the People*, ſays the Prieſt, *That the Prince of* Wales *was not Born of the Queen*,

Queen, but the Author of that Report did not gain any Reputation. We all remember how general the Belief was, that the Birth was Suppositious, and that the Court it self knew how much it was suspected. For my part, I never troubled my self to think about it, we have good Acts of Parliament that settled the Crown first on King *William* and Queen *Mary*, then on Queen *Anne*, and after on the Protestant Heirs. I always thought it ridiculous to trouble our Heads about him. Whether he was the Queen's Child or her Nurses, it would have been all one to me, if the Laws were against him as they now are. But I am so fully convinc'd of the mighty Import it was to the *Papists*, to have had Matter well prov'd, considering how much it was doubted before the Child was produc'd, that I cannot believe, as Proud and as Obstinate as Queen *Mary* was, she would for the good of the Cause, have refus'd to have been delivered in a Camp, as it is said a Queen of *Arragon* upon the like Occasion was, rather then leave the least room for any one to suspect an Imposture: Whereas that Birth was attended with all the Signs of one that ever was, except the Bawdy Evidence of a pick'd Company, which, were it stronger, is liable to all the Exceptions that a Fraud is capable of. It is to do too much Honour to the Pretender, to talk in any manner of him but as the Law does, as a Person under Attainder; and I'm almost asham'd of saying so much on a Subject, for which every

fix'd *Engliſhman* muſt have the laſt Contempt; *So many Witneſſes above all Exception*, (as the Jeſuit proteſts) *had ſeen the Prince of* Wales *Born*; *ſo many ſaw him immediately after, that the Fable ſeem'd inſupportable, even to thoſe whoſe greateſt Concern it was to keep it up.* Whereas a very indifferent Intrigue might with much fairer Appearances of Fact, impoſe a Birth at any time on People diſpos'd by Bigotry, Paſſion and Intereſt to believe it, as were the Aſſembly Summon'd by the Court, to bear their Teſtimony to the Queen's Delivery. *It was a great Diſappointment to them*, continues the Hiſtorian, *to have a Prince of* Wales *Born, who could not fail of being brought up in the Catholick Religion, which muſt perpetuate it on the Throne, and in time bring it to prevail among the People.* Nothing in the World can be freer and more impartial. If you have a Popiſh King, you muſt in time be all Papiſts. Nothing can be truer, and yet there were, and are ſtill ſome ſo Mad among us, as to fancy a Popiſh King may be a good Protector of our Proteſtant Church, becauſe King *James* in his firſt Speech to his Council, give them the Word of a King, *That he would take particular Care to Support and Defend the Church of* England, and one would think too, becauſe he kept his Word ſo well with them.

There was no one Act of King *James*'s Reign, which forwarded the *Revolution* more, than his ſending the Seven Biſhops to the *Tower*, for not reading the Declaration

ration for *Liberty of Conscience*, in which these Prelates acted with a Pious Zeal against Popery only; for they at the same time declar'd, they were willing to come to a *Temper* with Dissenting Protestants; and the good Disposition the Church was in at that time, to favour their Protestant Brethren, made the latter concern themselves as much in their Sufferings, as if they had been their own Pastors; yet the *Frenchman* assures us, that the *Presbyterian* Parsons put the *Papists* upon the King, to get him to oblige the Bishops to publish it in the Churches, in hopes to make their Advantages of the Controversy. There were but Two *Presbyterian* Parsons of the whole Sect, that kept any Correspondence with the Court, and those were *Lob* and *Alsop*, who had great Obligations to the King, the one having been himself Pardon'd by him, for Practices against him, and the other having got a Pardon for his Son. The former kept close to that King, to his last Hour at *Whitehal*, and was the only *Fanatick Jacobite* that I ever heard of. He has said himself, that he offer'd the King, as he was going off, to attend him, and that his Majesty told him, *He should stay, He might do Him more Service by it*, and accordingly he us'd as long as he liv'd, to speak respectfully of that Prince, and has been thought to have kept a Correspondence with the Enemies of the Government. The Jesuit calls the Bishops putting the King's Council on Proof of their Petition, *a base Slight*, as if in Matters of

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Law, the Accus'd might not have Recourse to the quickest and easiest way of clearing themselves; and for that our Kings have concluded their Proclamations with these Words, *Witness our Self.* He thinks it hard, that King *James*'s own Evidence was not taken to prove the Petition Legally to be theirs. In the next Place, least it may be thought that I have done an Injury to the Nonjuring Bishops, in affirming that they invited over the Prince, I shall add the Authority of King *James*'s *French* Historiographer to the Inference that may be drawn from the Prince of *Orange*'s Declaration. *It was doubtless*, says he, *this Artifice that prevail'd on those Prelates to write to the* Dutch *Prince, praying him to expedite his March, and come in to the Defence of their Religion and Laws, which they pretended the King had Invaded again, by Imprisoning them.*

I cannot pass over the Reflections the Jesuit makes on the Conduct of the Earl of *Sundarland*, whole Reputation it would be a more easy Task to vindicate, had he not prevaricated in his Religion more than he did in his Potiticks. It must be said for that Lord, he was Hearty in the Exclusion Business; He oppos'd the admitting *Roman Catholicks* into the Army, and Places of Trust; He did the same by the Dispencng Power; He defended *Magdalen* Colledge; He oppos'd the Dissolving of the Parliament, and the Prosecution of the Bishops, and was always lookt upon by the *Papists* as their Enemy. How far

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it is allowable for a Man to Countenance an ill Administration, by joyning in it to prevent its doing Mischief, I am not now to consider. It must be own'd at least, that in all the before-mentioned Particulars he did well; and if he did not himself Correspond with the Prince of *Orange*, his Lady did with the Princess; whether there was any thing more than Civilities in that Correspondence, I have not learnt; and there does not seem any great Occasion of the Earls using any other means of communicating his Sentiments to that Prince, than by his Kinsman the late Earl of *Romney*, who was then in his Court. That he did not put King *James* on Evil Councils, purposely to betray and ruin him, will appear by his own Account of his Management after the Prince's Expedition was no more a Secret to the Court of *England*. *Upon the first Thought of his coming*, says that Lord in a Letter of his written shortly after King *William* was Proclaim'd, *I laid hold of the Opportunity to press the King to do several things that I would have had done sooner; the Chief of which were to restore* Magdalen *Colledge, and all other Ecclesiastical Preferments which had been diverted from what they were intended for; to take off my Lord Bishop of* London's *Suspension; to put the Counties into the same Hands they were in before; to annul the Ecclesiastical Court, and to restore respectively all the Corporations of* England. *These things were done effectually, by the help of some about the King, and it was then thought I had destroyed my self, by enra-*

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ging again the whole Roman Catholick *Party to such a Height, as has not been since they dispers'd Libels of me every Day, told the King that I betray'd him, that I ruin'd him by perswading him to make such shameful Condescentions; but most of all by hindring the securing the Chief of the disaffected Nobility and Gentry, which was proposed as a certain way to break all the Prince's Measures, and by addressing his Majesty to call a Free Parliament, and to depend upon that rather than Foreign Assistance. It is true I did give him those Counsels, which were called weak, to the last Moment he suffered me in his Service; then I was accus'd of holding Correspondence with the Prince.*

Whether this Lord did or did not correspond with the Prince of *Orange*, this is plain, he gave King *James* such Advice, as would have kept him on the Throne, had he persu'd it. Had he call'd a Free Parliament, and thrown himself entirely on his People, he might have reign'd to his Death, and if the Prince had any Views of the Crown before King *James* left it, the Lord *Sunderland* was not much his Friend in adviſing the latter, as he did, to redress all our Grievances. There are two things we are indebted to him for preventing, which had he not done, the success of the Revolution had been dubious, if not unfortunate, and that was the bringing in of a *French* Army, which the Priests were violently for, and the seizing the Chief of the Protestant Lords, which would have hinder'd their serving the Prince themselves,

ſelves, and probably have diſcourag'd others. It has been a conſtant Cuſtom of the *French* Factions in *England*, to load all thoſe that came over with the Prince with the blackeſt Calumnies. And whether out of our Natural Love to Scandal, or our fatal Inclination to the ſame Principles of Government which ruin'd King *James*, the Characters of thoſe Gentlemen thus blacken'd by the Enemies of the Revolution, have not been ſufficiently vindicated by the Friends to it. Who is there that has ſuffer'd more by this Humour or Prejudice than my Lord Biſhop of *Salisbury*, whoſe Learning, Piety, publick Spirit, and vaſt Capacity make him an Honour to our Country, and a Treaſure which we know not how to prize. The Earl of *Sunderland*'s eſpouſing King *William*'s Intereſt afterwards with Zeal, and becoming one of his Miniſters, made him more odious to the Faction than he was in King *James*'s Reign, and whatever ill Things were ſaid of him were greedily ſwallow'd by King *William*'s Friends as well as Enemies; we having been always too ready to encourage Slander, let who will be the Sufferers by it.

I do not pretend to excuſe my Lord's Conformity to the Church of *Rome*, which he tenderly expreſſes thus, *Whatever I did fooliſhly to preſerve my ſelf:* But I muſt ſtill be of Opinion, that he was eminently ſerviceable to the Proteſtant Intereſt in his Miniſtry, and that the Jeſuit himſelf

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ſpeaking for and againſt him, as to his betraying King *James*, inclines to the Negative, which it is probable was the King's own Opinion, the Prieſt having all he knew from him, which is confirm'd by the King's ſummoning the Earl to Council again a few Days after he was turn'd out of his Office of Secretary of State, and after he had been threatned with a Charge of High Treaſon. I ſhall conclude what I have to ſay of that Lord, with what he himſelf ſays of the Prince, in his Letter from *Rotterdam*. For he fled to *Holland*, and was there apprehended, of which Notice was taken in the Publick Prints, though ſome pretend he was all that while very much in the Prince's Favour, of whom he writes thus, *Some time after came the firſt News of the Prince of* Orange's *Deſigns, which were not then look'd on as they have prov'd, no Body foreſeeing the Miracles he has done by his wonderful Prudence, Conduct and Courage; for the greateſt Thing which has been undertaken theſe thouſand Years, or perhaps ever, could not be effected without Vertues hardly to be imagined till ſeen nearer hand.*

If Father *Orleans* had been employ'd to make a Paraphraſe on the Secret League between King *James* and the *French* King, he could not have deſcrib'd better the Endearment there was between the two Monarchs which produc'd that Alliance, than where he ſpeaks of *Lewis* XIVth's Care of the King of *England's*

land's Safety in discovering the Prince's Designs, and endeavouring to prevent them. *It is not easy*, says he, *to express how much our Court took to heart the Danger of a King who had long been beloved there. Mr.* Skelton *was almost tired out with People stopping, questioning, and almost quarrelling with him, because their Advice was not followed*, which indeed was what Monsieur *Bonrepos* brought to accept of a *French* Army and Fleet, and what my Lord *Sunderland* prevented. What follows is the Method propos'd by *Skelton*, for which he was sent to the Tower when he came to *England*; where he remain'd a Prisoner about three Weeks, and was then made Governor of it. This Gentleman was a Protestant, just such a one as many we have now, who was for securing our Government by a *French* Power. One Day Monsieur *de Croissy*, a *French* Minister pressing him about Assistance from *France*, *Skelton*, after answering, *he had no Orders, and durst not ask any Thing*, added, *that nevertheless he believed, if his most Christian Majesty should declare to the States how much he espoused the King his Master's Concerns and threaten'd to attack them, in case they attempted any thing against him, it would certainly put a Stop them, and break all the Prince of* Orange's *Measures, without raising any Fears in* England *of inviting in* French *Succours*. This was the occasion of the Count *d' Avaux*'s Memorial to the States. In which he owns his Master the *French* King's Alliance

ance with *England*. But in this the *French* Court shew'd what Fools they made of ours, then as they did in King *Charles* the Second's Time, when he sent his Ambassadors to *Utrecht*, where they agreed on certain Articles, which were publish'd soon after, and it appear'd, that the restoring Popery in *Holland* was one of them. The *French* Ministers never matter how they expose the *English* whenever they have a Point to carry by it, which we think should be such Warning to ours, that none will ever put it into their Power to do them any Mischief; for they'll be sure to incite them to the most dangerous Councils, and they must go through with them; or they will be always in peril of being betray'd. The Court of *England* did their utmost to perswade that of *France* to disown this Memorial, and the Alliance mention'd in it; but the *French* Ministers could not be prevail'd upon to do it. Not out of a Principle of Honour, because it was false in Fact, but because by this Step they thought they had sufficiently shewn the *English* Protestants what their King would do with them, if ever he had it in his Power, and this allarming them beyond Measure, would oblige the King to have Recourse to his Brother of *France* for help in that time of Distress.

The early Appearance of the Lord *Churchil* in the Cause of Liberty at the *Revolution*, made the Papists his Inveterate Irreconcileable Enemies, and therefore the

the *French* Priest makes use of his Invention to injure his Reputation, as if he did it with a Prophetick Zeal against a Heroe whom Heaven had decreed to bring down the Pride of that Haughty Monarch, who had in his Fancy erected himself an Empire over the World. The Jesuit assures us, that that Lord had not only form'd a Design to desert King *James*, but to secure his Person, and carry him to the Prince of *Orange*; and proves it by such Reasons, as will give Satisfaction to all such as can reconcile Contradictions, as *Revolution* and *Non-Resistance*, *Hereditary* and *House of Hanover*. In short, to all my Lord's Enemies, who most certainly are all Friends to *France* and the *Pretender*. He says, that the Lord *Lovelace* and his thirteen Men being taken in *Glocestershire* going to *Exeter*, and a Party of thirty Horse of the Prince's Troops being worsted at *Wincanton*; this is very Fact, *The Faction*, continues he, *apprehending they had not taken right Measures, resolv'd in order to cut short to seize the King*, and who was to do it but my Lord *Churchil*, nothing hindring it but the bleeding of the King's Nose. Is not this very likely, that two such notable Disgraces should discourage the whole Kingdom, which he represents as corrupted, Army and all. The Truth of the Matter is, the Nobility about the King having us'd all the Arguments they could think of to perswade him to

call a Free Parliament, and finding him immoveably fix'd in a contrary Reſolution, the Soldiers in great Diſcontent, Diſorder and Fear, and the whole Nation juſt ready to break out into a Flame. Thoſe Noble Lords could not reſolve to ſtay with his Majeſty ſurrounded by *Popiſh* and *Iriſh* Officers, and therefore went to the Prince to haſten the Settlement of the Nation on the Foot of its Laws and Liberties. With my Lord *Churchil* went his Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Denmark* and the Duke of *Graſton*, and my Lords own Letter, which he left for the King, is a ſufficient Vindication of his Honour and Intentions. *As I can no longer*, ſays his Lordſhip, *joyn with ſuch to give a Preſence by Conqueſt, to bring their unhappy Deſign againſt your Majeſty's true Intereſt and the Proteſtant Religion to effect, ſo I will always with the hazard of my Life and Fortune (ſo much your Majeſty's due) endeavour to preſerve your Royal Perſon and Lawful Rights, with all the tender Concern and Dutiful Reſpect that becomes, &c.*

What dependence there is to be made on the Temporary Compliances of a *Popiſh* King, we may ſee by the Prieſt's Account of King *James*'s conſenting at laſt to call a Free Parliament. He writes thus, *The King's Condition was ſuch, that he could refuſe no means for putting a ſtop to a Revolution which then ſeem'd unavoidable. In this Diſtreſs he reſolved to call a Parliament.* Undoubtedly King *James*'s Double Dealing in that and other Matters was very im-

Impolitick, and has given too juſt an Idea of Popiſh Sincerity, ever to truſt to it any more. In his Fright, upon News of the Prince of *Orange*'s Preparations, he ſent the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* to recal Dr. *Hough*, the Preſident, and the ejected Fellows of *Magdalen*'s College in *Oxford*; but hearing the *Dutch* Fleet had ſuffer'd in a Storm, and it being repreſented a great deal worſe than it was, inſomuch, that it was ſaid the Prince would not be able to come till Spring, the Biſhop was recall'd, and ten Days afterwards, upon advice that he was ſail'd again, his Lordſhip had ſecond Orders to do that Work, which he went through with. This Management was ſo very fooliſh, that I wonder his Friends could expect any Thing better from ſuch Councils than what happen'd to him.

It was the ſame with his Profeſſions of calling a Free Parliament, with revoking all Writs of *Quo Warranto*, and reſtoring Corporations, and the other Methods he pretended to take for redreſſing of Grievances. In all which there was no certainty becauſe the Diſpenſing Power was ſtill defended: The Biſhop of *London*'s Sentence tho remitted, was not declar'd Illegal. The Charters were reſtor'd but ſtill ſubject to *Quo Warranto*'s; and as to the promis'd Parliament, though it was after granted, when the Army had deſerted, and almoſt all the Nation declared for the Prince; ſo dreadful it was to meet them, that the abandoning the

Throne was more eligible than the ſight of that Aſſembly.

At the ſame time, ſays the Jeſuit, *that the King iſſued out Writs for a Parliament, he deputed the Lords* Hallifax, Nottingham, *and* Godolphin *to the Prince of* Orange, *to let him know he ſhould have Satisfaction, and that there ſhould be ſuch a Free Parliament as he deſired.* This Commiſſion was not at all to the Prince's liking, if you will believe the *French* Prieſt; but his own excellent Reflections will divert the Reader better. *No thinking Man ever believ'd the Prince of* Orange *ſo fond of the* Engliſh, *as that he would ſecure their Liberties at ſo great an Expence and Trouble, whereas it was more his Intereſt to overthrow them, being the next Heir to the Crown after the Prince of* Wales. Was there ever plainer Dealing than this? Does he not tell us with wonderful Frankneſs, that in his poor Judgment it is the Intereſt of every Prince to overthrow the Liberties of the People he is to govern. Again, *The Reception he gave that Prince's Deputies, convinc'd ſuch as had leaſt in them of Suſpicion that his Deſign lay quite another way. He not liking the calling a Parliament, he held on his march, and gave no Anſwer to the Deputies ſent to him, till he was near enough to* London, *to awe thoſe who were not wholly come into his Deſign. There he ſpoke ſo haughtily, and offer'd his Majeſty ſuch intollerable Terms, that the Monarch being alſo privately informed by one of his Three Deputies, that there was no ſecurity for his Perſon in any part of the Kingdom,*

thought

thought fit to give way to the Iniquity of the Times, and go ſeek a Sanctuary in the Arms of that ſame Friend, whoſe Aſſiſtance he had refus'd. The Jeſuit, as I ſaid, tells you he *diſcours'd with King* James *about his Hiſtory as long as he could wiſh*; and every one of thoſe Facts is as falſe as Fiction could make them. The Prince of *Orange* gave Audience to the King's Commiſſioners at *Hungerford* the 8th of *December*, and ſent them his Anſwer the next Day from *Littlecot* in *Wiltſhire*, an ancient Seat of the *Pophams*, famous in Old Times for their *Engliſh* Principles. The Commiſſioner's Propoſals were,

To refer all to a Free Parliament.
To treat for adjuſting Matters for the Freedom of Elections.
To keep both Armies at a due diſtance from London.

Inſtead of marching forwards, or delaying an Anſwer, the Prince was at that time at a great diſtance from *London*, and only took a few Hours to conſult his Friends, and by their Advice his Anſwer was,

That all Papiſts be diſarm'd and remov'd from Places.
That all Proclamations reflecting on him and his Friends be recall'd, and thoſe impriſon'd diſcharg'd.
That the Tower and Tilbury *Fort be put into the Hands of the City.*

That the King and the Prince be at an equal distance from London, *with equal Guards and the Armies forty Miles off.*

That Money be assign'd for the Payment of his Troops till the Parliament sits.

That no French *Troops be receiv'd, and* Portsmouth *put into such Hands as they both should think fit.*

This Answer was sent away by an Express to the King the next Day, the 10th of *December*, and early that Morning at Three a Clock the Queen and the Child went to *Gravesend*, and embark'd for *France*. Now the King could have no Account of the Prince's Answer; he could not know his Terms, nor could one of his Deputies tell him his Person was not safe, before he resolv'd to fly to the *French* King's Arms. For Father *Orleans* owns himself, *That the King had before promis'd the Queen to follow the next Day, and that according to that Promise, she waited for him at* Calais. Such is the Liberty of Popish Zeal, that for making the best of a bad Cause, there is no Falshood so flagrant of which they may not make use. Besides, the Fact being so shamefully false, and consequently all the wicked Reflections on his late Majesty, the Prince's Answer was very fair, and very moderate, considring the Danger the Nation was in, and the Provocation he and they had met with. This was King *James*'s Sentiments of it when he was at *Whitehal*, and how St. *Germains* chang'd

chang'd him in other things, may be imagin'd by this. I shall not build any thing on Tradition or Report, even at that Time, but repeat the Words of *a Letter to a Bishop*, publish'd at that Juncture. *When his Majesty receiv'd this Letter he could not but give this just Character the Prince's Proposals, that they were fairer than he could or did expect.* Upon which the Gentleman who wrote the Letter to the Bishop, argues thus, so that he had no Reason then to be afraid of his Person, but might have continu'd with Security in his Palace, and taken Care of the Government, and call'd such a Parliament, as both himself and the Prince desir'd; which might have quietly and effectually settled the Nation, and prevented all Mischief to his Person or to his Affairs: But it is very plain he was not willing to continue King on the Terms the Laws requir'd, nor to be kept on his Throne by redressing Grievances, which would have render'd him an useless Ally to his Friend of *France*, and probably have oblig'd him to comply with the general Bent of his People, and have vindicated the Liberties of *Europe*, which the *French* King was attempting to destroy. The same Day that he receiv'd this fair Answer, as he himself call'd it, he order'd those Writs for the sitting of the Parliament that were not sent to be burnt, and a Caveat to be enter'd against making use of those that were. He was also so far from stay-

ing to consult his Deputies, that he withdrew the next Morning at Three a Clock too, and left the Nation without a Head; but Nature and the Laws had given them a Right to supply his Place, and the ill Consequences of his Abdication were to himself. The Design of the King's going to *France* was form'd long before he thought of sending Deputies to the Prince of *Orange*, even when he was at *Salisbury*, as may be seen in the beforementioned Letter, which is to this purpose,

"That whilst the King was hush'd at "*Salisbury*, the *Popish* Party seeing their "Affairs grew every day more Desperate, began to employ all their Politicks to invent some Remedy for them, "and then first contriv'd the King's "withdrawing to *France*; which the Lord "*Dover* and Mr. *Brent* made no Secret "of, frequently saying, *The King would "withdraw himself out of the Kingdom a-"bove a Fortnight before he did*; nor were "those Persons the only two in the Secret, and of this Opinion. But a Letter was sent to the King while he was "there, *which can be produc'd*, says my "Author, wherein he was told it was "the Unanimous Advice of all the *Catholicks* at *London* that he should come "back from thence, and withdraw himself out of the Kingdom, to leave it "in Confusion, assuring him, that *within "two Years or less it would be in such Confusion, that he might return and have his*

"*Ends*

" *Ends of it.* This divulging the Secret " before-hand, did much abate the " Wonder of it, when it happen'd, and " diſpos'd the Peers to a more ſpeedy " Reſolution of ſecuring the Nation from " the Confuſion they deſigned, and is " a ſtrong Proof the King withdrew vo- " luntarily, and upon a deſign *to have* " *his Ends of us.* The *Ends* a Popiſh King, a King of Arbitrary Principles, a Diſpenſer with our Laws, and an Enemy to our Religion can have, is nothing elſe but to make us *Slaves* and *Idolaters?* And his pretended Son having never known a better Government than that of *France*, would doubtleſs think he us'd us very well, if after three or four and Twenty Years Rebellion we far'd no worſe than the *French* do.

I do not follow the *Revolution* regularly, my Buſineſs now being only to make ſome Obſervations on the *French* Jeſuit's Hiſtory, he having bragg'd whom he had his Helps from, that we may ſee his Memoirs were not the more Authentick for it.

As ſoon as the King had left *London*, and his Departure was known, the City was every where in Motion; the Incens'd Multitude fell upon the *Popiſh* Chappels, open'd in Defyance of ſo many Acts of Parliament. They demoliſh'd the Convent and Chappel at St. *Johns*'s, the Convent and Chappel in *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*, the *Popiſh* Chappels in *Limeſtreet* and *Bucklers-Bury*, and the Chappel at *Wild-Houſe*.

They

They were ſcarce recover'd from the Terrors the Rumour of the *Iriſh* Ravages and Murders had put them into, his Majeſty had been ſtop'd, pillag'd and inſulted at *Feverſham* in *Kent*, yet ſtill the People of *England* were ſo Affectionately diſpos'd to him, that if the *French* Prieſt could not write what was not true. *When he came back to* London, *he was receiv'd there by the Multitudes with ſuch Shouts, Acclamations and Expreſſions of Affections as can ſcarce be expreſt. That was a Day of Triumph for him. No Man remembred he ever ſaw the like Ringing of Bells, Bonfires, and all Things uſed on the greateſt Solemnities to teſtifie Joy was now practiſed.* The Truth of all which is juſt what an Hiſtorian who wrote of the Revolution two or three Months after it, ſays of it, it is freſh in my Memory and the Memories of Thouſands.

Sunday *about Five in the Evening the King return'd to* Whitehal *attended by one Troop of Grenadiers, and three Troops of Life-Guards, a ſet of Boys following him through the City, and making ſome Huzza's, while the reſt of the People ſilently look'd on.* Thoſe Guards were ſent by the Privy Council to ſee him ſafe on Ship board, or bring him back, as he ſhould chuſe himſelf, and were little enough, conſidering that his Majeſty was the only *Roman Catholick* in *England* that could then boaſt of a Triumph.

The

The *French* Priest affects to make a Mystery of the most ordinary Accidents; and because Monsieur *Zulestein*, when he was sent with a Letter to the King at *Rochester*, to desire him to stay there, could not get thither before the King had left the Place, he informs us the Prince of *Orange* was extreamly troubled at the Miscarriage of his Letter, in as much as it did not hinder King *James*'s Return, which it was intended to do, as if the Prince would have then given him an Opportunity to leave the Kingdom; in which, doubtless, all good *English* Men would heartily have joyn'd with him. Had he continu'd here, he must have perplex'd the Affair of the Revolution, and nothing else could have sav'd us: No Treaty with a *Popish King* could have been any Security; whatever had been done that way, would have been by Force, and the King would soon have declar'd himself discharg'd from any Obligations of that kind. The very first thing he did upon his coming to *Whitehal*, was to Publish a Proclamation in favour of the *Papists*, and release a Popish Bishop who had been Committed to *Newgate*. One of the Priests of the Court, sent an Imperious Message to the Earl of *Mulgrave*, then Lord Chamberlain, *To furnish his Lodgings with New Furniture, for he means to continue in them*; and his Majesty's Behaviour was such, that it was said he was *Politically invited back to* Whitehal, *with design to ruin him the more effectually, and without any Pity from his Protestant Subjects*,

Father

Father *Orleans* thinks he has an extraordinary Instance of King *James*'s Condescention to shew us when he tells us he sent the Earl of *Feversham* to invite the Prince to come to St. *James*'s, *allowing him to have his own Guards*, a very great Act of Goodness! Now his Army was Disbanded, all the Forts in *England*, except *Portsmouth* in the Prince's Hand, and *London*, and almost all the Peers, had submitted to him. The Committing of the Earl of *Feversham* Prisoner in *Windsor Castle*, has been much relented by the *French* Faction. The Jesuit says, *It shew'd plainly the Prince's Ends, and those of the Declaration were not the same*; yet he lets us know why the Earl was Confin'd, which is no where else mention'd, *for Disbanding the King's Army*; but does not tell us that it was for not *Disarming the* Irish, and doing what he did so rashly, that it caus'd great Disorders, which might easily have been prevented, by keeping them together till they were regularly dispos'd of, and paid. What was done by the Prince concerning the Letter that Lord brought him; he is not accountable for entirely, for that he immediately referr'd it to the Lords who were with him, and they concluded, *That the shortness of the Time could admit no better Expedient, than that the King might be desired to remove to some Place within a reasonable Distance from* London. *Ham-House* was pitch'd upon, and the Message carry'd by Three of those Lords, the Marquis of *Halifax*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and the Lord

Lord *Delamere*. The Prince acted in all things by the Advice of the Peers and Gentlemen who were with him, and took not one Step without it. It was they resolv'd to send his Guards to take Possession of the Posts about *Whitehal*; and had they not good Reason for it, when the Duke of *Grafton* had like to have been Assassinated by an *Irish* Trooper, as he was marching thro' the *Strand*, at the Head of a Foot Regiment of Guards, going by Order of Council, to take Possession of *Tilbury* Fort? There were Ruffians enough about the Court, to attempt the Life of the Prince in as desperate manner, and not to lay any stress on King *James*s Permission at that that time, the Safety of the Prince's Person, on which so much depended, made all the Precautions taken by the Lords of the last necessity. This the *French* Man represents as transacted with the greatest Hurry and Violence. *The Prince Arrested the King's General, sent* 2000 *Men to drive away his Guards from* Whitehal, *and three Lords to turn him out of his Bed.* From which he infers, there was no Safety for him in *England*; whereas that whole Business was manag'd with as much Decency as the Nature of the thing would admit. The Lords came not in the Morning as he says, but at Night; neither did they awake the King, for he was not asleep; and what they said, was with all possible Respect and Humility, adding a Reason for the Kings Removal, which was for his own sake, to prevent the Mischiefs

chiefs that might happen by Diſputes, between the Guards of Two Princes, at variance with one another, and the King was Maſter of the Place, and manner of his Removal, which was to *Rocheſter*, to be ready at the firſt Opportunity to eſcape to *France*. The *Prince*, ſays the Prieſt, *ſaw into his Deſign*, and winkt at it. The King ſure knew it as well as the Prince, and all the Advantages he might make of it: Why then did he contribute to it himſelf, by leaving the Kingdom? The true and only Cauſe of it muſt be, that he reſolv'd rather to be no King, than a King by the Laws of our Country; and to renounce his Kingdoms, rather than his Alliance with *France*, which would neceſſarily have been the Conſequence of a Free Parliament.

We have lately had a very Judicious Clamour, *What have we been Fighting for theſe Three Years? What Provinces or Cities are to be Ours on a Peace? The* Dutch *have all, we were but Seconds, and made our ſelves fooliſhly Principals in the War.* Notwithſtanding all which, nothing can be plainner, than that there is not one of the Confederates more a Principal than we. We fought for our Religion, Liberties, for our *All*, in fighting againſt King *James* and his Pretended Son; and the *French* do not ſtick to own, that his Quarrel was theirs. The Jeſuit calls the War in King *William*'s Reign, *The War againſt King* James, and indeed ſo it was, which makes it ſo much a Grievance to thoſe that complain of it.

It

It would have been very ſhort in the Jeſuit, if in railing againſt the Prince of *Orange*, he had not done the ſame againſt the Convention, and with the ſame Truth. *His Faction* he ſays, *got as many Members as they could return'd, that were favourable to to their Deſigns.* In the Temper the Nation then were, there could not have been an Aſſembly who would have favour'd them leſs; every one impatiently longing for a Settlement of the Government on its true *Baſis* the Law; and that could not be under a King who had ſo long *Diſpenc'd* with it, and ſtill declar'd it to be his Right. Beſides, it cannot be forgotten, that the Elections of the Members for the Convention, were carry'd on as an "Hiſtorian then writes, with the greateſt "Liberty that could poſſibly be con-"ceiv'd, every Man giving his Vote for "whom he pleas'd, without the leaſt "Sollicitation from the Prince, or any of "his. There had been twice Writs before "this time, for a Parliament in a few "Months, and almoſt every Place had "fix'd their Members; ſo that the Dif-"ference was not great between the Men "that were, and thoſe that would have "been Choſen, if the King had ſuffer'd "the firſt or ſecond Parliament he call'd, "to have met. This gives the trueſt "*Idea* that can be deſcrib'd, of the Diſ-"poſition of the Nation, and what would "have been the Event, if either of thoſe "Parliaments had ſat." And ſo far was the Prince from Countenancing any unwar-

warrantable Practices, to promote his Intereſt, that when he was inform'd of a Petition to the Convention, that was carry'd about the City for Hands to ſettle the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* immediately on the Throne, he preſently gave Directions to the Lord Mayor to ſuppreſs it, tho' it is probable there would have been more Hands and Hearts to it, than have been to all the Addreſſes that have ſince been Artfully procur'd from the City.

To give the *Catholicks* Abroad the worſe Opinion of the Proceedings of that Aſſembly, Father *Orleans* tells you, the firſt Queſtion they put, was, *Whether a Catholick King was incapable of wearing the Crown?* Which Queſtion came not into Debate at that time, and was afterwards determined by a Law in the Affirmative. I do not at all wonder, that a *French* Papiſt writing againſt our *Revolution*, ſhould aſſert, *That the Hereditary Succeſſion is the main Baſis of the* Engliſh *Monarchy*. He had an Abdicated King to tell him ſo. All I admire at, is, that thoſe who were the moſt concern'd in that Revolution, and who ſince have appear'd moſt Zealous for the *Hanover Succeſſion*, ſhould damn all that *oppoſe the Hereditary Succeſſion*, and at the ſame time pretend to be of the ſame Principles they profeſt, when King *James* was Abdicated, and the Crown after King *William* and the Princeſs *Anne*, ſettled on a Houſe, between whom and that Right, there are above Forty Princes and Princeſſes

ceſſes living. But we live in an Age when Contradictions are impos'd on us for Proof, and Nonſenſe for Argument. 'Tis my own Opinion, Her Majeſty has as good an Hereditary Right as ever her Father had, becauſe I look upon the Pretender to be what the Addreſſes to King *William* us'd to call him, a *Suppoſitious Impoſtor Prince*. What then? What makes him ſo, my Opinion, or any Man's Opinion, contrary to the Evidence of his Father and Mother? This will not admit of arguing upon; and had not a good Act of Parliament otherwiſe ſettled the Crown, it would be Treaſon to talk after this rate. All the Complement intended by thoſe Honeſt Ingenious Perſons, that ſtarted the aſſerting *Hereditary Principles* in a *Revolution Government*, was only to bring an *Odium* on the Revolution upon which it is founded; there being not a Man in *Britain*, of *Revolution Principles*, but is as Loyal to Her Majeſty as the higheſt Aſſertor of the *Divine Right* of Succeſſion. And how the latter agree in this with their Friends in *France*, Father *Orleans* ſhews us; where he argues againſt the *Original Compact*, with as much Reaſon as the late Council for the Condemn'd Doctor did. *As to the Pretended Compact between the Soveraign and the People, it is a Pernicious* Chimæra, *juſtly Condemn'd as opening a Gap for all Seditious Perſons to raiſe Troubles.* Which Notable Reaſoning, has been happily imitated by the Faction in *England*, contrary to the

Vote of Lords and Commons, of the 28th of *January*, 1688.

Resolved,

That King James II. *having endeavoured to Subvert the Constitution of this Kingdom, by breaking the Original Contract between King and People,* &c. *has Abdicated the Government.*

The Priesthood who Preach against this Doctrine, and has their *French* Brother to back them, in vain expose their Sacred Function, by their needless and groundless Flattery. There will always be found effectual Arguments to prove this Original Contract, when the necessity of doing it, is equal to what it then was; and 'tis not the Harangue of a Court Sophister, that will, in such a Case, make any Impression on the True Lovers of Liberty, who have that Doctrine written like that of the Deity in their Hearts, confirm'd by the Law of Nature.

If there was such a Chimerical Foundation in this *Original Compact*, How came it about, that the Church and Nation of *England*, could not find it out till they had liv'd Thirteen Years under a *Revolution King and Queen*, and Eight under a *Revolution Queen*; none having had the Impudence to oppose it, till the last mad Humour of Addressing. *It was resolv'd*, says the *French* Priest, *to bestow the Title of King on the Prince of* Orange, *and still proceeding contrary to all the Rules of*

Here-

Hereditary Monarchies, it was declar'd, *that in Caſe he ſurviv'd his Wife, he ſhould continue King in wrong to the Princeſs of* Denmark, *who was Heireſs to her Siſter*; which Settlement, all the Parliaments of *England* ever ſince have recogniz'd; and Her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs, by a moſt Exemplary Obedience to it, after Queen *Mary*'s Death; which makes the reviving the exploded Tenets of *Unalienable, Indefeazible*, and the like, as ridiculous as it is Inſolent.

Among other Falſities in the Declaration, the Jeſuit tells us the *Convention* drew up of Grievances in King *James*'s Reign, and the Stipulations they made with the Prince, *It was agreed that a Parliament ſhould be held every Three Years, which Term*, continues he, *ſeem'd hard to a Prince who had Senſe enough to foreſee all the Conſequences of them, and he is ſaid to have been ſurpriz'd at it.* The Triennial Act did not paſs till ſeveral Years after, and King *William* was not eaſily brought to aſſent to it then. Yet the Prieſt aſſures he did it before he was Proclaim'd, *in return for the Oaths of Fidelity to him and the Princeſs*, all which is a Romance: And whether he had it from King *James*'s Memoirs, or his own Invention, the Authority of it is equal, and of the ſame Sanction with his affirming as he does again, *That only the Biſhop of St.* Aſaph *of the Seven Biſhops, that had the Conteſt with King* James, *took the New Oaths*; for the Biſhop of *Briſtol* did it, and why the other Five did it not, has been already

consider'd, as far as the Actions of Men Govern'd by Humour or Passion, are capable of it. The Jesuit pays a strict Homage to Truth in that part of his History, where he acknowledges, *The Prince did not come to Extremities with any Person on the Account of not Swearing to him, satisfying himself, with obliging all Catholicks and Nonjurors to pay double Taxes.* A very moderate Burden, for such as by their frequent Plots and Contrivances, encourag'd the Common Enemy to continue the War. Her present Majesty's Sentiments, of laying and levying it upon them, are founded on the best Reasons that any thing can be supported by. They are to be met with in Her Speech to the Parliament, of the 1*st* of *April*, 1708. immediately after the Pretender's Expedition to *Scotland*. *I must recommend to you at your Return into your several Counties, to use your utmost Care and Diligence, in putting the Laws in Execution against* Papists, *and all others disaffected to my Government; and in making them pay towards the Publick Taxes, to the full of what the Law requires from them: Nothing being more Reasonable, than that they who by their Principles and Practices encourage, if not actually foment such Disturbances, should doubly contribute to the Charge of quieting them, and securing the Kingdoms Peace; and should know themselves on all such Occasions, to be responsible in the first Place, for the many Inconveniencies that may ensue.*

If any one imagines the Foot we were upon, in King *William* and Queen *Mary*'s Reign,

Reign, or consequently in Her Present Majesty, is not, in the Judgment of *Papists*, as much Rebellion, as that of our Ancestors in *Forty One*, the good Father, who writ the *History of the Revolution* by King *James*'s Assistance, will give him full Satisfaction to the contrary. For speaking of the King and Queens being own'd in *Scotland*, as well as in *England*, and that the Throne had been declar'd vacant there too. He adds, *There were brave Men enough that escap'd being Imprison'd, to disturb the* Rebels, *and have put a Stop to the Revolution, had they been ever so little supported from Abroad, as the Duke of* Gordon, *the Viscount* Dundee, *the Earl of* Dumferling, *the Lord* Dunkeld, *Collonel* Canon, *and other* Montrosses *of that Time, who kept the Field long with the Loyal* Highlanders, *the Constant Refuge of the Kings in Times of Rebellion.* Such he made the State of our Allegiance, with respect to King *James*; and there's no Body thought so then, that looks upon us to be in a more Loyal One now, with reference to the Pretender, which makes the Superlative Addresses one of the greatest Farces that was ever Play'd on the Stage of the World. And yet how wonderful were the Effects of 'em not long since. By the Jesuit's Representation of the Revolution in *Scotland*, one would think it was brought about with the utmost Difficulty, and had but a slender Majority to support it, whereas in Truth, notwithstanding the desperate Attempts of *Gordon* and *Dundee*, King *William* and Queen *Mary*

were advanc'd to the Sovereignty of that Kingdom, with more Unanimity than in this; tho' he ſays, *The Revolt went on more ſlowly.* But our Hiſtories ſhew the *Scots* Lords and Gentlemen were as quick as the *Engliſh,* in their Solemn Declaration for the Prince of *Orange*'s taking on him the Government; which was as much a Revolt, and as much a Rebellion, as the Proclaiming him King. For thoſe of them that were in *London*, took but Ten Days time to know the Opinion of their Friends in *Scotland*, and then drew up an Addreſs to the Prince of *Orange*, of the ſame Nature as that drawn up by the Lords and Gentlemen at *Weſtminſter*, which was Sign'd by Thirty *Scots* Lords and Eighty Gentlemen, and Preſented by the Duke of *Hamilton.* The then Earl of *Arran*, who accompany'd King *James* in his laſt Journey to *Rocheſter*, from whence he fled to *France*, was, it ſeems, come back to Town, by the time the *Scots* Lords and Gentlemen met, and was the only Man in all the Aſſembly, who gave Advice, *That the Prince of* Orange *ſhould be mov'd to deſire the King to return, and call a Free Parliament, for the ſecuring our Religion and Property, according to the known Laws of the Kingdom, which* (ſaid he) *is the beſt way to heal all our Breaches.* This was diſguſted by all, and ſome Lords, particularly the Earls of *Crawford* and *Louthian*, who were not preſent when the Addreſs to the Prince, about Aſſuming the Government, was Sign'd, deſir'd afterwards they might ſet their Names to it. In a word,

the

the beſt and greateſt Men of that Nation, as well as the Major Part of it, fell early and heartily in with the *Revolution*; and the Earl of *Arran* himſelf, did not afterwards refuſe a higher Title from his Majeſty King *William*, which would have come to him by *Hereditary Succeſſion*, had he had Patience till his Mother's Death. This Power to continue King *James* on the *Scots* Throne, when he was outed of that of *England*, is only a *Gaſconade* of the Jeſuits, to give an Opportunity to call the *Scots* Rebels. The Earl of *Arran*'s Advice, tho' ſo unanimouſly rejected by his Countrymen, had all the *Papiſts* and their Emiſſaries of its ſide. The Author of the *Deſertion diſcuſs'd*, written by one of the moſt Zealous of the Faction, declares for it in the following Paragraph, *Thoſe who were the Occaſion of his Majeſty's Departure, ſhould (one would think) have waited upon him, and invited him back. For without queſtion, the injuring Perſon ought to make the firſt ſtep to an Accommodation, eſpecially when the wrong is done to his own Prince.* We ſhould have beg'd his Pardon for taking it ill at his Hands, that he endeavour'd to ſubject us to Popery and Slavery. We ſhould have aſſur'd him of no ſuch Murmurs for the future; that we were ſorry for what had happen'd, and were ready to be whatever he pleas'd to make us. This would probably have given Content to thoſe who were for ſending for him again; nothing leſs would have given him Content, as was plain by his refuſing all Methods of Ac-

commodation which had not a Reserve for Liberty to *Papists* to Exercise their Religion, and Old Offices of Trust, and for his *Dispencing Power*. I make no doubt but King *James* might have kept the Possession of his Dominions, on the Terms often propos'd to him, especially the Ten Proposals made by the Bishops, the calling a Free Parliament, the renouncing his Alliance with *France*, and the detecting the Juggle of the Pretender. But his Honour and his Religion would have been so much expos'd by the latter, his Friend the *French* King, by his Allying against *France*, his Friends the Catholicks, by his Calling a Free Parliament, and all of them, by his agreeing to the Bishops Proposals, that he could not resolve to Rule on such mean Conditions, and therefore his Abdication is as strong as if it had been with all the Forms practis'd by Sovereign in those Cases. I shall soon have done with Father *Orleans*, the only Historian the Faction in *Britain* can boast of. The rest that have written against the Revolution, being already forgotten, as would this Writer have sooner been, had not he given an Authority to his History, by pretending 'tis King *James*'s. He highly extols the Courage and Loyalty of the *Irish* Nation, *as the Soundest Part of the* British *Dominions*, forgetting how Common Shame oblig'd him to Condemn their Rebellion and Cruelty in 1641. The Turn he gives it is remarkable, *The* Irish *Catholicks*, says he, *oppress by the* English *Protestants, had laid hold*

hold of the Opportunity of their Confusions, to shake off the Yoke; and having Conspir'd against them with wonderful Secrecy, after Slaughtering a great Number of them, had almost made themselves Masters of the Island. Never were the Papists in a more Flourishing Condition than at that Juncture since the *Reformation* had any Ground in *Ireland*. The Earl of *Strafford*, their last Governor, had on all Occasions shewn them distinguishing Marks of his Trust and Affection, and recommended them to the King's good Graces. The poor Protestants were so far from being the Oppressors, that nothing was more complain'd of, than the Oppression themselves met with; and the Phrase of *shaking off the Yoke*, is much too soft for so Bloody a Rebellion, which he himself is pleas'd to say, was *Opposite to the Spirit of the Church*; tho' the Head of it the Pope, encourag'd it by the Presence of his Minister in the Army of the Rebels. The Loyalty of the *Irish* to all *English* Kings, but King *James*, may be seen in our *English* History, there having hardly been a Reign since the Conquest of that Island by *Henry* II. in which they have not Rebell'd. And it is far from being an Honour to King *James*, that those People who had been Rebels to all his Predecessors, Popish and Protestant, should receive such Countenance from him, as to be fond of his Government. It is no great matter, that the *French* Jesuit, to lessen the Disgrace of the Kings Defeat at the *Boyne*, makes King *William*'s Army more than twice the Number

Number of King *James*'s 45000 *Engliſh* to 20000 *Iriſh*. Now the odds were juſt ſo much on the other ſide, and King *James*'s Terror was ſuch, that the very *Iriſh* could not help cenſuring him, ſaying to ſome of King *William*'s Soldiers who had taken them Priſoners, *That if they would Exchange Kings, they would Fight the Battel over again, and did not doubt of beating them.* Notwithſtanding K. *James*'s Forces, according to the Jeſuit, were but 20000 to 45000, and that K. *William*, beſides the advantage of Number, had Two ſuch Generals, as that King and Mareſchal *Schombergh* to lead them. Yet ſo great a Commander was K. *James*, if he tells us Truth, that had his Orders been obey'd, *It might not have been impoſſible for him to have ſucceeded better.* However, he was ſo intrepid, that the Count *De Lauzun* could ſcarce prevail on him to retire in Time, which he did, ſays the Prieſt, *and the Count retreated in good Order, and very Honourably, with all his Army, taking advantage of the Enemies Confuſion.* For great Faults do the Jeſuit and his Party, impute to King *William*, in the management of that Glorious Day, and the Purſuit of his Victory. *They blame him for not coming ſooner to* Dublin, whether he ſent the Duke of *Ormond*, who took Poſſeſſion of it immediately after King *James* left it. They charge him with Negligence, in not cutting off King *James*'s Army from *Gallway* and *Limerick*, though they were more Numerous than his own after the Battel. But the greateſt Reaſon they have to be angry with him, is cer-

tainly

tainly his preſſing them with ſo much ſpeed and fury at the *Boyne*, which ſo broke the Strength and Courage of the *Iriſh*, that there was Conqueſt after Conqueſt by the *Engliſh*, till the whole Kingdom was reduc'd, which the *French* Hiſtorian ſays, it had not been, if it had lain as conveniently *to be relieved by* France *as it was to be invaded by* England, *for which ſo many Nations were fighting*. The *Frenchman* has a right Notion of Matters; it was indeed for *England* that the Emperor, *Germany*, *Spain* and *Holland* were fighting, while we forſooth, if you will believe our State Writers, were fooliſhly involving our ſelves as Principals in a War, in which we ſhould only have engag'd as Seconds, while we were ſpending our Money and our Blood for the *Dutch*, when we ſhould have continu'd in Peace, which we could not have done without taking our old King again; and that 'tis true ſome are ſorry we did not do, and would now have us take the Son, to prove, that we have been theſe twenty Years fighting, as they ſay, for nothing.

The Jeſuit in the ſame Page hints a little of a Conſpiracy which was form'd againſt King *William* and Queen *Mary* in the Year 1690, when the Earl of *Torrington* was worſted at *Beachy-Head*, and there was a Plot in *England* to receive the Abdicated King and a *French* Army, much like that to which the Aſſaſſination Plot was added three or four Years afterwards.

terwards. *Thoſe who knew the Deſign*, ſays he, *that mov'd the King to make ſuch haſte out of* Ireland, *might add to all this, that he had thought of a Diverſion which would have ſet the Prince of* Orange *hard, had not one only Circumſtance whereon it depended, diſappointed it.* The ſame Cant was uſed in *Charnock's* Plot. *To make a Diverſion in* England *by attacking the Prince of* Orange *in his Winter Quarters*, and the *ſetting the King* hard muſt doubtleſs be the ſame Uſage the Aſſaſſinators intended him. For his Majeſty was in no likelihood of being otherwiſe put to it by his Competitor in *England*: That the *French* King made War upon the Confederates meerly to reſtore King *James* and ſecure *England* to himſelf, in order to his Enſlaving all *Europe*, will appear in many Places of Father *Orleans's* Hiſtory, and in none more than in the Concluſion. *It was for the Honour of the King, under whom I write this Hiſtory, to add to thoſe Titles which have given him the Name of the Great, that of ſupporting ſo good a Cauſe alone, and making the Juſtice of it known by winning pitch'd Battels, by the Conqueſt of ſeveral Provinces, and the ſtrongeſt Places in the World reduc'd under his Empire, notwithſtanding all the Efforts of ſo many Potentates.* How grateful we have lately ſhewn our ſelves to thoſe Potentates, let Poſterity judge, and whether we have had no Concern upon us to engage in both the Wars with *France* ſince the *Revolution*; ſince without them, and the Help of all our Allies, our hated, inſulted,

ſulted, and abandon'd Confederates to the *French* King's other Glorious Titles, had been added that of reſtoring King *James* II, or King *James* III, to the Throne of theſe Kingdoms; of rooting out Hereſy, re-eſtabling the Catholick Religion, and deſtroying the Liberty of a Nation who has preſerv'd that of *Europe*, by the many Victories She has ſo eminently contributed to obtain by the Arms of Her Sovereign, under Her moſt Wiſe and moſt Victorious General the Duke of *Marlborough*: A Name that will do Honour to any *Engliſh* Hiſtory, when Remembrance ſhall be a Curſe to his Enemies.

I am not apprehenſive that theſe Paſſages out of Father *Orleans*'s Hiſtory will be diſagreeable to the Curious Reader when he knows that it was probably written by King *James*'s Command, and from his own Memoirs, which he communicated to the Prieſt in the Converſation he had frequently with him. There is no Event nor Reflection of Moment which I have not fully conſider'd and leave it now to the World to judge what Credit is to be given to the Relations of *Popiſh* Prieſts and Bigots, or their Abettors, who for theſe two or three Years have outdone the Examples ſet them by the Papiſts.

I ſhall in the next Place endeavour to prove from our own Story, that this Nation is indebted for the Revolution to thoſe Men

Men, and that Order of Men who ſet themſelves at this time to blacken and condemn it. That in ſhort we owe it to the Reſentment of the Church of *England*, for the many Injuries done her, and Indignities put upon her: That ſome who have cry'd up *Paſſive Obedience* and *Non-Reſiſtance*, were thoſe who did then Reſiſt, and that without ſuch Reſiſtance from the Church we had loſt our Religion and Liberty. I take this to be the eaſieſt way to confute the Arguments made uſe of by the Preſs and the Pulpit to favour thoſe Doctrines, which were never practis'd by thoſe who advance them, when their Loyalty and their Intereſt were render'd incompatible. In proſecuting this, I ſhall touch only upon ſuch Facts as are unqueſtionable for their Truth, and rarely to be met with if at all in any other Memoirs but theſe,

I am ſatisfy'd that after the King had ſuppreſt *Monmouth*'s Rebellion, and the Parliament were Loyal to him out of Affection as well as Duty, if he had not inſiſted on employing Papiſts, if he had complimented the Church, and encourag'd the hot Men of it to continue their Perſecution of Diſſenters, *He might have walk'd us out of our Religion and Liberties*, as it is ſaid *Shaftsbury* us'd to ſay he would do by King *Charles* and his Kingdom. When the Diſſenters had been ruin'd, and the Catholicks had none to contend with but their Perſecutors, it is to be fear'd the Active Zeal of thoſe Bigots would not

eaſily have been turn'd into *Paſſive*, but they would rather have choſen to part with the Profeſſion of Religion, than have ſuffer'd for it, what they had made others to ſuffer. It would not then have been in the Power of the truly Pious and Moderate Sons of the Church to have hinder'd the ſetting up Popery; and King *James*'s haſte to effect it was not only blam'd by the Court of *Rome*, but even by the Court of *France*; for a good Author of that Nation publiſh'd in Print at that time, *That their Court never approv'd of the falſe Methods of King* James, *but declar'd openly there was never any thing leſs Judicious than his Conduct; that he had always follow'd blind Councils, which were very pernicious to his Repoſe and Safety. That he had undertaken very imprudently to deſtroy the Proteſtant Religion, which was that of the State. That he made uſe of a Rigour which was not well underſtood, both againſt the Biſhops and Univerſities: That it was a great Folly in him to deſire the repeal of the Teſts and Penal Laws, which the* Engliſh *eſteem'd the Sanctuary of their Nation; That his Affection for the Court of* Rome, *and the Monks he deſired to reſtore, was ridiculous and ſtupid; and that his attempting to give the Employments to the Papiſts, which he had raviſhed from the Proteſtants, had given juſt Cauſe to all the Members of the State to complain of his Injuſtice*; which perhaps were more the Sentiments of the Author than of the Court he ſpeaks of.

How-

However it is certain there were some in that Court and Kingdom, who thought *he was over Zealous for the Catholick Church*, which his Flatterer the *French* Priest cannot help mentioning though he does his utmost to excuse him. He confesses, that had his Majesty been less a Bigot, he might have been as happy a Monarch as any in *Christendom*, and truly such was the general Disposition of the People of *England*, to submit to his Government, that a little Moderation would have brought them to his Pleasure. *All things*, says the Jesuit, *seem'd to promise him a settled Felicity; great Enemies conquer'd and destroy'd, a Victorious Army on Foot, the Great Men and Commons not only Submissive, but vying in Duty; all Foreign Princes courting his Friendship, and looking on him as the Arbitrator of all Differences in* Europe. *All these seem'd to be something more than bare Omens of a Peaceful and happy Reign, and they must infallibly have been so, had not King* James *been a Catholick.* Infallibly it had been, if besides being a Catholick, he had not been enflam'd by an Excess of Zeal for his Religion, and had not his Wife, and her Creatures, still kept him hot in his Design to establish it in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*. Infallible had his Happiness been, had that Zeal been accompany'd with equal Judgment, he might then have foreseen that it was impossible to impose his Religion on a People bred up with an invincible Hatred to it, and that when he offer'd to encroach

croach on the Rights and Properties of the Clergy, *Nature would Rebel against Principle*, and of the Happiest he would become one of the most Miserable Princes in *Christendom*, as indeed he was, if to live on another's Alms, and in perpetual Dependence, may be reckon'd Misery.

King *James* had Advice given him Fifteen Years before, that he must not trust to the Loyalty of those Churchmen, who preaching up the Divine Right, and the Unbounded Prerogative of the Crown, tempted him to put it to the Tryal; for the Bishop of *Salisbury* says, in his Speech to the Lords on *Sacheverell's* Business, speaking of the Doctrine of *Non-Resistance*; "I found "the ill Effects, that the carrying this "Matter so far had on the Mind of "that unfortunate Prince King *James*; "for in the Year 1673, when he was "pleased to admit me to much free-"dom in Conversation with him, a-"mongst many other Things, I told "him, It was impossible for him to "Reign in Quiet in this Nation, being "of that Religion; He answer'd me "quick, *Does not the Church of England "maintain the Doctrine of* Non-Resistance "*and* Passive Obedience? I begg'd of "him not to depend on that, for there "was a Distinction in that Matter, "that would be found out when Men "thought they needed it.

Thus it was from that Quarter his Danger first came, as it was that Quar-

ter he first attack'd, and could not do his Business without it. His erecting the Ecclesiastical Commission Court offended all the Church Clergy; and Applications were made upon it, even then to the Prince and Princess of *Orange*; his suspending the Bishop of *London*, his Endeavours to impose *Francis* on the University of *Cambridge*, and *Gifford* on that of *Oxford*; his obliging the Clergy to read the Declaration of Liberty to Papists and Fanaticks were so many impolitick Steps, the least of which made him a hundred thousand Enemies, and put all the old Lessons of Loyalty out of the Minds of the People, preparing them to accept the first Deliverance which was offer'd them.

Before I enter upon the History of the Revolution, to shew that we owe it to the very Persons, whose pretended Principles make it Rebellion, I shall say a Word or two of the Prince of *Orange*, our Deliverer, who had all his Life-time been the Object of the *French* King's Jealousy and Hatred; as if he foresaw, that the Wisdom, Courage and Constancy of that Hero would ruin all his Projects for the Universal Monarchy. Nor did the Court of *France* shew their Enmity to him only. They began it to his Father, upon which a Famous Author writes thus,

"The Conduct of the late Cardinal "*Mazarine* deserves Admiration in all "Respects, but the Measures he observ'd "himself, and left to his Master "his

"his Death, with Respect the Family of *Orange*, seems to have proceeded "from a wonderful Foresight that nothing then in Being could Naturally "lead him to. It was the young Prince "of *Orange*, now King of *England*, then "under the lowest Circumstances of "his Fortunes, and at a time when nothing could be expected to make them "better but a Miracle, that this great "Politician employ'd a vast share of his "Thoughts to keep him low and to "strengthen and protect a Faction that "had made him so.

"During the first Years of his Ministry, the Prince of *Orange*, it is "true, was in a Condition to give Jealousy to the Court of *France* in the "Person of a brave designing Prince, "who was not only in Possession of all "the Places his Ancestors had enjoy'd in "a mighty Commonwealth, but was "plac'd near the Lustre of a Crown by "marrying a Daughter of *England*: But "this Rising Sun was soon set, and Death "put a stop to his Hereditary Thirst of "Glory in the very beginning of his Career, leaving a Son yet unborn to "wrestle with the Misfortunes of a sinking Family. It was then indeed that "the House of *Nassau* deserv'd rather "the compassionate Regards of all the "Princes of Christendom than to be the "Object of their Envy and Fear. Then "it was that a House that had eternized its Name by raising a great and

" rich Republick out of a small Skirt of
" the *Spanish* Dominions, and under whom
" all the Nations of *Europe* came to learn
" the Art of War, for a hundred Years
" together, underwent an Eclipse, and
" such a one as in the Opinion of all
" the World was to put an end for ever
" to its wonted Lustre. The young
" Prince his Son came into the World
" dispossest of all the great Offices and
" power his Ancestors had born in
" that State, and the same unlucky
" Scene that had usher'd him in, con-
" tinu'd to bear him Company till
" the Two and twentieth Year of his
" Age, *&c.*

In his Tenth the *French* King seiz'd his Principality of *Orange*, and during his Minority, thought one of the best Ministers he had could not be better employ'd than on an Embassy in *Holland*, to cultivate his Friendship with *De Wit*, the Profest Enemy of the House of *Orange*, and prevent the Prince's Succession to the Dignities and Offices of his Ancestors. King *Charles* and the Duke of *York*, taking no manner of Notice of that King's seizing their Nephew's Patrimony, which is to me a convincing Proof of the close Allyance between them, and that it was of much older Date than the Dutchess of *Orleans* their Sister's Voyage to *Dover*. Inexpressible are the Inhumanities which the *French* King's Officers committed in *Orange*, where they levell'd the Stately

Stately Cittadel erected by Prince *Maurice*, which was one of the moſt Magnificent Monuments of that Prince's Greatneſs. Five Years were theſe Ravages committed in that City and Principality, and it was then reſtor'd to the Prince its Sovereign, whoſe Servant Monſieur *Zuleſtein* took Poſſeſſion of it in the Year 1665.

He Firſt attempted to gain him by Flattery and fair Promiſes, offering in the Year 1672, when he kept his Court at *Utrecht*, and the City of *Amſterdam* heard the Noiſe of his Guns to make him Sovereign of *Holland*, which the Prince refus'd with Scorn, his Soul being too great to build his Fortunes on the Ruins of his Country. The *French* King who had indeed been the true Maſter of the United Provinces, had the Prince accepted of the Name, enrag'd that he did not, poſſeſt himſelf of the Principality of *Orange*, the King of *England* looking on. Though it was afterwards reſtor'd by an Expreſs Article of the Treaty of *Nimeghen*, in the Year 1678, and though King *Charles* was declar'd Guarantee of that Treaty, yet the continual Encrouchments of the Neighbouring Troops of *Provence*, with the Intrigues of the Popiſh Biſhop of *Orange* and his Party, render'd daily the Condition of the Prince's Subjects more and more uneaſy, till at laſt in the Year 1682, it being then a time of profound Peace, the *French* King by force

made himself once more Master of *Orange*, and his Soldiers acted Barbarities there unparallel'd in any Reign but his own.

To give some sort of Colour to this Violence, he caus'd a Process to be commenc'd by the Prince of *Conde* against the Prince of *Orange*, who in the *Breve* was so Contemptuously treated, as to be term'd *Messire William, Count of Nassau, living at Amsterdam in Holland*; and in another still more Scornfully, *Burgher of the Hague*. Judgment was given in favour of the Prince of *Conde*, as Administrator to the Duke of *Longuevill*, who pretended to a Right to that Principality, which was indisputably in his Majesty, as Heir to the House of *Chalon*, and the Possession of it had been above a hundred Years in his Family. The Murders and Depredations committed there by the *French* King's Orders, were doubtless an Effect of his Hatred to the Prince; and the Reader will not be displeas'd with a Digression which so lively represents the Desolation of a Country whose Prince did such Wonders for the Preservation of our Liberties, and the Liberties of *Europe*. It is taken from a Treatise written by Monsieur *Chambrun*, a Gentleman of *Orange*, and publish'd at the *Hague*, in the Year 1688. The Author of which might say, as *Æneas* in *Virgil*,

—Quos

——— Quas ipse miserrime vidi,
Et Quorum Pars magna fui.

Behold, says he, *the dismal Cruelties acted upon my Country: This City so famous by the Greatness of its Princes, is now nothing but a dismal Heap, where one cannot enter without treading upon its Ruins. She is at this Day a Doleful Monument of Cruelty and Injustice, I cannot perswade my self, that the Ruins of* Troy *and* Carthage, *were more terrible than those I have mentioned since to one that beholds them at a Distance; they appear the Habitation of* Ostriches *and* Owls. *If Posterity shall inquire the Causes of this horrid Destruction, as certainly it must, the Account that shall be given of it, will, no doubt, tend to the Dishonour of* France. *History will not forget to hand down to succeeding Ages, the Heroick Virtues of our Prince, when she comes to relate the Ruins of his Territories, and the Misery of his Subjects; and when they shall understand that the Justice, the Sincerity, the Courage, the Valour, and Indefatigable Care of maintaining the Liberty of* Europe, *were the only Motives that induc'd the* French *King thus to treat an Illustrious Prince, they will doubtless say, that this has been the most dismal and most corrupted of all Ages, since that which ought to have been the Admiration of Kings, was the Object of their Hate and Aversion. If this Great Prince would have consented to the overturning of the Government of his Country, as he was earnestly courted so to do, if he would have taken Part with those that aim'd*

at the enslaving of Europe. *In a word, if he would have betray'd his Country, and broken Faith with his Allies, he might have mounted the Throne then offer'd him; but because he lov'd his Country better than his Interest, and prefer'd his Honour to the richest Advantages, and the Liberty of Europe, to a Crown, his Glorious Actions were regarded with Hatred, and attended with the most unjust Treatments. But though this Conduct has been blam'd in all the Courts of* Europe, *yet nothing has been done to oppose it; and I am forc'd to say, 'tis the Shame of all* Christendom, *to have suffer'd a great Prince so often to expose his Life with the greatest Bravery for its Good and Liberty, and at the same time to abandon his Interest with the most unaccountable Neglect. England was oblig'd to protect and assist this Prince; not only as being Guarantee of the Treaty of* Nimeghen, *but from a Principal of Blood and Alliance. And indeed what Honour can accrue to* England, *to see a Sovereignty wrested by unjust Violence, from a Prince who had Married the Heiress of Three Kingdoms. As for me, I cannot think of the Desolations of my Country, without saying amidst my Tears with the* Prophet, How does the City sit solitary, Is it nothing to you, all you that pass by? *In short, Is it possible that a Man that loves his God, his Religion, and his Prince, could behold with dry Eyes so many Ruins as I saw in the Principality of* Orange *since;*

Hic Seges est ubi Troja fuit.

Indeed

Indeed the *French* King has ever shew'd a Personal Hatred against King *William*, both before and since he wore a Crown, and tho he has been some times forc'd to confess Honourable Things of him himself, yet nothing can be more ungrateful to him than to hear others do so, of which there happen'd a notable Instance, with Reference to the late Prince of *Conde*. This Magnanimous Prince, whom of all *France* the King fear'd most, as one who had very near hurl'd him down from his Throne, when he was supported by those very Protestants, whom he has since requited with Galleys, Gallows and Banishments. The Prince of *Conde*, I say, having been pleas'd publickly in the *French* King's Presence to praise the Prince of *Orange*'s Conduct and Valour at his first Appearance on the Stage, in putting a stop to the Irruptions of the *French* into *Holland* in the Year 1672, and saying, among other things of him, *That he had given early Proofs of his being worthy of his Ancestors.* The *French* King was so strangely nettled at the Expression, and so impatient to hear the young Prince of *Orange* commended, That he answer'd the first Prince of his Blood in a Passion, *And so are you, Cousin, worthy of one of your Ancestors, who try'd in Rebellion against one of mine.* This Repartee was the more extraordinary, and shew'd the greater Prejudice in the *French* King against the then dawning Glory of the Prince of *Orange*, for that the very Week before he

he had patiently put up one of the greateſt Affronts the Prince of *Conde* could poſſibly do him. The King and the Prince were at Cards together, and the Prince out of Humour at his Looſing, happen'd to ſtrike a *Louis d'Or* againſt the Table, which *Louis d'Or* being accidentally of Glaſs, broke in Pieces, whereat the Prince cry'd out in a Heat, *Serons nous toujours ruines par ces fauxes Louis?* Which Words in the *French* Idiom is almoſt the ſame as if he had ſpoken in the ſingular Number, *Shall we always be ruin'd by a Counterfeit* Lewis? The *French* King, though he could not by his Countenance diſſemble his Concern at ſo ill Natur'd a Reflection, yet he ſeem'd to take it as ſpoken in another Senſe, by ſaying to Monſieur *Colbert*, who ſtood by, *Pray take Care for the future, that the Prince have no reaſon to Complain of Counterfeit Money.*

Nor is it only againſt this Prince that the *French*, and their Friends, have extended their Rage; They have fal'n upon his Illuſtrious Race, the moſt Productive of Heroes of any in *Europe*. One of their Libellers in *England*, writing at once againſt Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, Biſhop *Burnet*, Biſhop *Burnet*, Dr. *Sherlock*, Dr. *Wake*, Dr. *Fleetwood*, all of them but Dr. *Sherlock* then or ſince Prelates of our Church for vindicating the Honour of their Majeſties King *William* and Queen *Mary* in their Sermons, ſpeaks thus ſlanderouſly of the Houſe of *Orange*, *That they had been concerned in all the Rebellions in Europe, and ſometymes*

fought

fought and sometimes run away, as they found occasion. And this because the Archbishop said in one of his Sermons; "There "never was a Family on Earth so much "Honour'd to give a Check to all the "Aspiring Monarchs of the *West*, and "bold Attempters of the Liberties of "*Europe*, as if the Princes of this Va-"liant and Victorious Line had been of "the Race of *Hercules*, born to rescue "Mankind from Oppression, and to "quell Monsters. But to show how wicked by the Friends of *France* were bent to vilify King *William*; what Malice they bore him for his being the great great Asserter of *Europe*'s Liberties, it will be sufficient to repeat a Paragraph of that vile Scribbler, whose Impunity is an unhappy Instance of the Lenity of that Government, which depending on the Justice of its Cause, and the Reason of its Actions, shew'd a too great Contempt of Slander and Calumny. *He endeavoured*, says he, speaking of King *William* when Prince and King, *to advance himself by Fraud and Forgery, Perfidiousness and Treachery. He at his first setting out, advanc'd himself to a High Post in his own Country, by Perjury, in taking upon him the Office of Stadtholder, which he had Sworn he would not take; and by Murdering Two of the best Patriots of his Country for opposing it. He, while he Courted the Daughter, was undermining the Father, and laying Trains to deprive him of his Birthright. He has ever since harbour'd Rebels and Malecontents, to set a Peace-*

able

able Kingdom in a Flame, on purpose to make a Prey of it for himself. He hath so little Sense of Publick Faith and Solemn Treaties, that when he thought he had the Advantage, he actually Fought an Army with the Articles of Peace in his Pocket. He tramples upon all that is Sacred, and the very Neck of his Father, to obtain a Throne. He proves False even to his Maker and Benefactors, and when he had done his Business by their Assistance, trod them under Foot. He is so much delighted with Scandal and Defamation of Great Princes, that he bribes and hires a Company of Foul-mouth'd Theologues to recreate him once a Week, with all the Nauseous Scum and Filth they are able to rake together, and then Publishes it to the Kingdom, by Special Command. Could any one but the infamous *Lesley*, be the Author of such Hellish Spite. He, who afterwards attack'd the King's Government and Memory in his *Rehearsal*, and Her Majesty in *Rehearsals*, *Moderators*, *Examiners*, and *Plain-Dealers*; and still Triumphs every Week in his Infamy. Such is the Spirit of the Enemies of our Deliverance and Deliverer; such their Affection for *France* and Tyranny. 'Tis a sure Mark of a Friend to *France*, to hate the *Revolution*, and the *Dutch* that helpt us in it. The Arguments urg'd by the Enemies to our Constitution in King *William*'s Time, are the very same they now make use of in their *Conducts*, *John Bull* &c. The Writer who horridly villify'd the Character of his late Majesty, writes thus favourably of the *French* King, thus maliciously of the

Dutch.

Dutch. If the French *King had no Provocation to War with the rest of his Neighbours, yet he had Provocation from us; and I defy the Wit of Men to assign any more than one Reason and one Provocation of this Terrible War on our side; and neither of them Just, Honourable, nor Necessary, viz. the Skreening our Neighbours the* Dutch, *and our Men and Money must be sent thither for no other Reason, but to save their Pockets and their Skins. I doubt this will never pass for an Honourable Reason among* English *Men, that 'tis worth such prodigious Quantities of* English *Treasure and Blood, to Fight their Battles, and secure their Frontiers.* Is not this the Language of a certain Rampant Faction at this Juncture? To argue with them, would be an equal Impertinence to History and Reason; and I shall content my self to shew how Natural it is for those that were Enemies to King *William* and our Constitution, to speak well of *France*, and to revile the *Dutch*. I could give a thousand Instances of this kind, and may do it on another Occasion; but I should digress too much, to do it here, and therefore shall proceed to the *History of the Revolution*, which I shall introduce with an Account of King *James*'s Reign, taken only from the Declaration of Rights, made by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons Assembled at *Westminster*, the 12th of *February*, 1688. the Day before King *William* and Queen *Mary* was Proclaim'd; in which will appear what just Grounds the People of *England* had to keep King

James

James out of the Throne he had Abdicated, and to fill it with the late King and Queen, and after them with her Present Majesty, whose Crown had otherwise been Usurp'd by the Pretender. That Declaration begins thus: *Whereas the Late King* James *the Second, by the Assistance of divers Evil Councellors, Judges and Ministers employed by him, did endeavour to subject and extirpate the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, by Assuming and Exercising a Power of Dispensing with, and Suspending of Laws, and the Execution of Laws without Consent of Parliament.*

His whole Reign is a continu'd Series of Examples of this kind, and his Brother King *Charles* II. felt the Pulse of the Nation, with reference to this Illegal Power of the Crown, in dispensing with the Conformity Act in the Year 1672. when, by Virtue of his Prerogative, He *Tolerated* Dissenters of all sorts from the Church of *England*, and suspended the Penal Laws against them. But that Prince acted very sparingly in this matter, and excepting in the Cases of the *Quo Warranto's*, did every thing with an appearance of Law, however corrupt the Practice was; of which take the following Instance, told by a Minister of State in *Scotland*, to a Gentleman from whom I had it. The D. of *Lauderdale* having rendred himself obnoxious to the Hatred of both Nations, especially the *Scots*, he being Prime Minister of that Kingdom, would needs perswade the King to Condemn the Actions of a considerable Number of Persons

sons of the First Quality unheard, meerly for opposing his Arbitrary Proceedings. K. *Charles* calling the other *Scots* Minister into his Closet, told him, *He was advis'd by such a Man, to give Sentence against those Noblemen that had oppos'd his Chief Minister's Proceedings, and that without allowing them a Hearing*, tho' they were come to *London* on purpose, desiring his Opinion in the Case, if he cou'd do it in Law, with this Expression, *Tho' I resolve not to part with the Duke of* Lauderdale *at any Rate, yet I Adjure you by the Almighty God, to tell me whether I can in Law Condemn his Enemies, without giving them a Hearing, for if the Law cannot, I will not.* Adding, *That in that alone he could not comply with the Duke of* Lauderdale's *Desires; for says he, I look upon my self as plac'd in this Station in the World, for this very End*; accordingly, in spite of the Duke's Allegations, he gave the Lords a Hearing. But had he lov'd the Law as a King ought to do he would soon have dismist a Minister that desir'd him to break it. As to King *James*'s Invading the Law at his Pleasure, what need I mention his employing Papists, and telling the Parliament he would do it. What need is there of Particulars, when the Powers of *Westminster-Hall* were all on his side, and the Fountains from whence all the Parts of it flow'd, were defil'd. The Fourth and Fifth Articles of the Prince of *Orange*'s Declaration, set this Grievance in a True Light, and the Fact we all know by feeling Experience. "It

"It was pretended that the King is "Cloath'd with a Despotick and Arbi- "trary Power, and that the Lives, Li- "berties, Honours and Estates of the Sub- "jects, depend wholly on his good Will "and Pleasure, and are entirely subject "to him; which must infallibly follow, "on the King's having a Power to sus- "pend the Execution of Laws, and to "dispense with them. Those Evil Coun- "cellors, in order to the giving some "Credit to his strange and execrable "Maxim, have so conducted the Matter, "that they have obtain'd a Sentence "from the Judges, declaring, That the "*Dispensing Power* is a Right belonging to "the Crown; as if it were in the Power of "the *Twelve Judges*, to offer up the Lives, "Rights and Liberties of the whole Nati- "on to the King, to be dispos'd of by "him, Arbitrarily at his Pleasure, and "expresly contrary to the Laws Enacted "for the Security of the Subjects. In or- "der to the obtaining this Judgment, "those Evil Councellors did before-hand "Examine secretly the Opinion of the "Judges, and procur'd such of them as "could not in Conscience concur in so "pernicious a Sentence, to be turn'd out, "and others to be Substituted in their "rooms; till by the Changes that were "made in the Courts of Judicature, they "at last obtain'd that Judgment. And "they have rais'd some to those Trusts, "who make open Profession of the *Popish* "Religion, tho' those are by Law ren-

"der'd

"der'd incapable of all such Employ-
"ments." What a Pack of Lawyers he pick'd out to be Judges, and to determine of the Rights and Liberties of the People, one may perceive by the Choice of Sir *Thomas Jenner*, Sir *Chriſtopher Milton*, Sir *Richard Allybone*, and the like. Perſons of mean Underſtandings, deſperate Fortunes, and Lewd Principles, who flatter'd King *James* to his Ruin; of which I have this Story, and from good Authority. A great Lawyer now Living, being in Converſation with a certain Nobleman (who bore a conſiderable Character in King *Charles*'s, and King *James*'s Council) askt, *Whether the King put his Lawyers and Judges upon doing what was done, without conſidering whether it was Legal, as the Common Vogue was he did; or that his Lawyers firſt adviſ'd what to be done was Law.* The Lord reply'd upon his Honour, *The Kings Council at Law, firſt adviſ'd he might do by Law what he would have done, and then he commanded them to do it.* A fine Excuſe for a Monarch thus miſled to take Care firſt to have ſuch Judges and Lawyers, as he was ſure would ſay whatever he would have them, and after that, make their Opinion the Rule of his Government. It is not forgot that when he Cloſetted Sir *Thomas Jones*, one of his Judges, to induce him to take off the Penal Laws, and Teſt; and the Judge was ſo Honeſt as to declare himſelf againſt it. The King told him, *He would have Twelve Judges that ſhould be for it.* To which Sir *Thomas* anſwer'd, *His Majeſty*

might have Twelve Judges, but he never would have Twelve Lawyers. It was also said then of Sir *John Maynard*, who had been Eminent at the Bar Threescore Years, that when the Prince of *Orange*, on Sir *John*'s first waiting upon him, took Notice of his great Age, He reply'd, *He had indeed out-liv'd many of his Brother Lawyers, and if his Highness had not come to save it, would have out-liv'd the Law it self.* I cannot think this Discourse of Great Men, below the Dignity of History, especially of *Anecdoets*, which are to record such things as Decency and Discretion might not admit to be remember'd in General Annals.

The Second Article of the Declaration is, *By Committing and Prosecuting divers worthy Prelates, for humbly Petitioning to be excus'd from concurring to the said Assum'd Power.* This alludes to the Imprisonment of the Seven Bishops in the *Tower*, and their Tryal at *Westminster-Hall.*

These PRELATES were,

Dr. *Will. Sancroft*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterb.*
Dr. *Will. Lloyd*, Bishop of St. *Asaph*,
Dr. *Francis Turner*, Bishop of *Ely*,
Dr. *John Lake*, Bishop of *Chichester*,
Dr. *Tho. Kenn*, Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*,
Dr. *Thomas White*, Bishop of *Peterborough*,
Sir *Jonathan Trelawny*, Bishop of *Bristol.*

Their Crime was for deliveringa Petition to the King, who had by Proclamation enjoin'd

joyn'd them to cause his Declaration of Indulgence to *Papists*, &c. to be read in their Churches, wherein they most humbly represented to his Majesty, that it being a Matter of so great Consequence to the Nation, both in Church and State, they could n t in Prudence, Honour and Conscience, so far make themselves Parties to it, as the Distribution of it over the Kingdom. They were Imprison'd by a Warrant of Council, Sign'd by

The Chancellor *Jefferies*,
The *Lord President*,
Henry, Lord *Arundel* of *Warder*, L. P. S. a *Papist*,
William, Marquiss of *Powis*, a *Papist*,
John, Earl of *Mulgrave*, L. C. Now Duke of *Bucks*.
Theophilus, Earl of *Huntington*,
Henry, Earl of *Peterborough*, a Papist,
Roger, Earl of *Castlemain*, a Papist,
Richard, Lord Viscount *Preston*,
Henry, Lord *Dover*, a Papist.

Of what Religion the Lord *Jefferies*, the Earl of *Huntington*, &c. were, whether more Orthodox than the other, or more an Honour to any, I shall not decide. The Court was first of Opinion to Try the Bishops before the Ecclesiastical Commission, but *Jefferies* put them off of that, advising the King to prefer an Information against them at the King's Bench. The Bishops were brought to their Tryal in

Westminster-Hall, having been Prisoners almost Three Weeks, before

Sir *Robert Wright*, L. C. Justice,
Mr. Justice *Halloway*,
Mr. Justice *Powel*,
Mr. Justice *Allybone*, a *Papist*.

The Council against them, were	The Council for them.
Sir *Thomas Powis*,	Sir *Robert Sawyer*,
Sir *William Williams*,	*Heneage Finch*, Esq;
Sir *Barth. Shower*,	Sir *Francis Pemberton*,
Serjeant *Baldock*,	Sir *Creswell Levinz*,
Serjeant *Trinder*.	*Henry Pollexfen*, Esq;
	Sir *George Treby*,
	John Somers, Esq;

The *Reader* is desir'd to observe, what a Flaming Zeal some Persons have of late shewn for the Church, whose Names he will find among the Persecutors of the Fathers of it, and one of them was very hot in his Arguments against them, insisting, that their Petition was a False, Factious, Seditious Libel. He has since had a Seat in several Parliaments, and been at the Head of several Addresses passing at this time, for a Champion of the Church, for which he was then doing this Notable Service. Sir *Thomas Powis* particularly argu'd, "Whether a Libel be true or not: "Was it ever yet in any Court of Justice, "permitted to be made a Question, whe-"ther it were a Libel or no? Or whether "the Party should be punish'd; and "therefore he wonder'd to hear the Bish-"op's Council say, that because it was

"not

" not a false one, therefore it was no " Libel. He allow'd the most inferiour " Person might Petition the King, but " but might not therefore suggest what " he pleas'd in his Petition? And should " he come and tell the King to his Face, " that what he did was illegal? That " there was a great deal of difference in " not doing a thing that was Commanded, " if one was of the Opinion that it was " unlawful, and coming to the King with " a Petition highly reflecting upon the " Government, and with Scandalous Ex- " pressions, telling him, *SIR*, You act " illegally; You require of us that which " is against Prudence, Honour or Con- " science, as the Lords the Bishops were " pleas'd to do, in that Petition of theirs, " *&c.* " He concluded, *That the Information was laid Malicious and Seditious, because*, said he, *If the thing be illegal, the Law says it is Malicious.* The best of the Court Council pleaded with the same Strength of Law and Reason; all which was answered by the Bishops, with that Force and Eloquence which Truth and Justice inspire. Sir *William Williams* was hiss at in the Hall, at which Sir *Thomas Powis* was very angry, and said, *This is very fine indeed, I hope the Court and Jury will take Notice of this Carriage.* After a long Tryal, the Judges gave their Opinion, *Wright* and *Allybone*, against the Bishops, and *Holloway* and *Powel* for them, which the latter paid for with their Places soon after. The Jury sat all Night, and brought in their Lordships *Not Guilty* next Morning, which occasion'd great Rejoy-

cings in Town and Country, and even the Camp at *Hounslow-Heath*, to His Majesty's great Mortification. It must not be omitted, that during the Course of the Tryal, there was such a Presence of Lords to Countenance the Bishops, that it lookt rather like the Bar of the House of Peers, than that of the Kings Bench, there being present in the Hall, the following Lords, an appearance owing to the indefatigable Care of the Clergy, especially Dr. *Tennison*.

Marq. of *Hallifax*,
Marq. of *Worcester*,
Earl of *Shrewsbury*,
Earl of *Kent*,
Earl of *Bedford*,
Earl of *Pembroke*,
Earl of *Dorset*,
Earl of *Lullingbrook*,
Earl of *Manchester*,
Earl *Rivers*,
Earl of *Stamford*,
Earl of *Carnarvan*,
Earl of *Chesterfield*,
Earl of *Scarsdale*,
Earl of *Carlisle*,
Earl of *Burlington*,
Earl of *Clarendon*,
Earl of *Danby*,
Earl of *Sussex*,
Earl of *Radnor*,
Earl of *Nottingham*,
Earl of *Abington*,
Lord Visc. *Falconberg*,
Lord Visc. *Newport*,
Lord *Gray* of *Ruthen*,
Lord *Paget*,
Lord *Chandois*,
Ld. *Vaughan Carbery*,
Lord *Lumley*,
Lord *Carteret*,
Lord *Osulston*,

The GRAND JURY were,

Sir *Rog. Langley* Bart.
Sir *William Hill*, Kt.
Roger Jennings, Esq;
William Avery, Esq;
Thomas Austin, Esq;
Nicholas Price, Esq;
Thomas Harriot, Esq;
Jeff. Nightingale, Esq;
William Withers, Esq;
Michael Arnold, Esq;
Thomas Done, Esq;
Rich. Shereditch, Esq;

I take

I take Pleasure to do Justice to Names that are worth remembrance for their Integrity and Courage, in those Times of the Churches real Danger, as well as to those that ought never to be forgotten for their Infamy, in Sacrificing her to their Ambition and Interest. The Bishop of *Rochester* tells us in his Letter to the Earl of *Dorset*, He was also present at the Bishop's Tryal, in order to be a Witness in their behalf. Whether any other Prelate attended, I can't tell, but doubt not many more were ready to share their Fortunes; and it was this Tryal of the Bishops, and their Councils excellent Pleading, that wrought that Happy Effect on my Lord of *Rochester*, which he speaks of in the same Letter. "There it was, "my Lord, that I was first convinc'd of "the false Foundations and mischievous "Consequences of such a Dispensing "Power, as that on which the Declara- "tion was grounded. So that I have "ever since been perswaded, that from "that Petition of those Bishops, so de- "fended by the Invincible Arguments of "their Learned Council on that Day, "and so justify'd by the Honest Verdict "of their undaunted Jury on the next "Day; from whence I say, we may Date "the first great Step that was made to- "wards the rescuing our Laws and Reli- "gion. For my part, I must own I was "so fully satisfied by the excellent Plead- "ings of those great Lawyers at that "Tryal, that I confess I never had till

" then, so clear a Notion what Unalterable Bounds the Law has fix'd between " the Just Prerogatives of the Crown, " and the Legal Rights of the Subjects. It was this Tryal of the Bishops that hasten'd the Prince of *Orange*'s Expedition, several Lords and Gentlemen went to *Holland* to that Purpose. The Earl of *Shrewsbury* who was present at it, quitted his Regiment of Horse, and having Mortgag'd his Estate for 40000 *l.* went over to his Highness, to offer him both his Sword and his Purse. The third Article of the Declaration is, *By Issuing and Causing to be Executed a Commission under the Great Seal, for Erecting a Court, call'd* The Court of Commission for Ecclesiastical Affairs; of which were appointed Members,

William, Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*,
George, Lord *Jefferies*, Lord Chancellor,
Laurence, E. of *Rochester*, Ld. High Treas.
Robert, E. of *Sunderland* Pres. of the Coun.
Nathaniel, Lord Bishop of *Durham*,
Thomas, Lord Bishop of *Rochester*,
Sir *Edmund Herbert*, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

Who the very Day their Commission was open'd, fell upon my Lord Bishop of *London*, for not Suspending Dr. *Sharpe*, for Preaching against Popery. The Doctor, now his Grace of *York*, Petition'd the King, but his Petition was not receiv'd, and the Bishop of *London* was cited before this Illegal Court, where were present all the Commissioners before mention'd. But the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, who refus'd

to

to be concern'd with them. *Jefferys* deny'd the Bishop a Copy of their Commission, saying, *It may be had at a Coffee-House for a Penny*; and when his Lordship desir'd time to advise with Council, He said surlily, *The Kings Business would not admit of such delays.* My Lord Bishop was attended by several Gentlemen of Note, when he appear'd before these Commissioners, as

Sir *Francis Compton*,
Sir *Thomas Clarges*,
Sir *John Nicolas*,
Sir *John Lowther*, and others.

He had a Fortnights time only allow'd him to consult and prepare for his Defence. The Court refus'd him a Copy of the Orders and Minutes concerning his Affair. *Jefferies* cut him short, by telling him, *We will not admit of any Quarrelling with our Commission, we are well assur'd of the Legality of it, otherwise we would not be such Tools as to sit here.* His Lordship speaking about the Legality of the Court, Sir *Thomas Clarges* cry'd out, *Well put, well put, my Lord speaks nothing but Truth*, &c. Sir *John Lowther* of *Lincolnshire*, said aloud, *There are some who have represented me as a* Papist, *but the contrary will appear, I will not be afraid nor asham'd to vindicate my Lord Bishop's Cause before the Commissioners themselves.* His Lordship pleaded to their Jurisdiction, and his Plea was strenuously argu'd by Four Civilians, Dr. *Oldys*, Dr. *Hodges*, Dr. *Price*, and Dr. *Newton*, but all in vain; they were all over-rul'd, and his Lordship

sus-

ſuſpended. The Biſhop of *Durham*, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and the Biſhop of *Peterborough*, being appointed Commiſſioners for the Dioceſe of *London*; and one of the firſt Exerciſes of their Office, was the degrading Mr. *Samuel Johnſon*, which could not otherwiſe have been us'd with that deteſtable Barbarity which he ſuffer'd, from the Rage and Violence of that Bloody Adminiſtration. Dr. *Stillingfleet*, afterwards Biſhop of *Worceſter*, refus'd to have any hand in that Odious Buſineſs; and the Works of that brave Confeſſor, who underwent the Pains of a thouſand Martyrdoms, will render the Names of all ſuch as had a ſhare in it, hateful to Poſterity, when they know that the only Crime for which he ſo ſuffer'd, was writing a Paper, Entituled, *An Humble Addreſs to all the* Engliſh *Proteſtants in the Army*, inciting them to defend their Religion, in the Defence of which, the whole Nation, two Years after took Arms.

This done, theſe Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners drove on furiouſly, Father *Peter* commenc'd a Suit againſt *Exeter*-Colledge, in which, if they had been Caſt, that whole Society muſt ſoon have been abandon'd to Popery. New Statutes were endeavour'd to be impos'd upon *Chriſt-Church Colledge* in *Oxford*, and *Sidney Colledge* in *Cambridge*. Changes and Abrogation of Oaths were made and intended, for the advantage of Popiſh Prieſts, and the freer courſe of *Mandamus*'s. The Biſhop of *Lincoln* was proſecuted by his Arch-

Arch-Deacon; the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* frequently threatned, and the Two Universities continually prosecuted by them. Every one knows the Famous Story of *Magdalen Colledge*, the great Alarm of the Church Party, than which nothing contributed more to King *James*'s Ruin. I shall therefore only touch on some of those things which discover most the Spirit of that Government, and the misery that must have attended it, had it continu'd. The Crime of *Magdalen Colledge*; which was chusing Dr. *Hough* President according to their Statutes, and refusing one *Farmer*, a Person of a very mean and debauch'd Character, to whom King *James* had granted a *Mandamus*, which was brought down to the Colledge by *Charnock*, who was one of the Assassins that conspir'd to murder King *William*, for which he was Hang'd, Drawn and Quarter'd, seven or eight Years after this Dispute about *Farmer*. There was now a New Commission in which the Arch-Bishop's Name, and the Earl of *Rochester*'s were left out. But the Two Bishops continu'd Members of the Court still, and to the Old ones were added,

John. Earl of *Mulgrave*, now D. of B. and N.
Dr. *Thomas Cartwright*, Bishop of *Chester*,
Sir *Robert Wright*, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench.
Sir *Thomas Jenner*, one of the Barons of the Exchequer.

The

The College sent Two of their Fellows Captain *Bagshaw*, and Dr. *Thomas Smith*, to Court, with a Petition, which they deliver'd to the Earl of *Sunderland*. But after several Days waiting, all the Answer they cou'd get, was, *The King must be obey'd*. Then they Presented their Case to the Duke of *Ormond*, Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*, whose Interposition was little regarded. The Vice President and Fellows were cited to appear before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Accordingly the Vice President, Dr. *Fairfax*, Dr. *J. Smith*, Mr. *Hammond*, Mr. *Dobson*, and Mr. *Farrer* Deputy Fellows appear'd, and in answer to the Demand, Why they had not obey'd the King's Mandate, declar'd they had chosen Dr. *Hough*, who had been since confirm'd by the Bishop of *Winchester*, their Visiter. Their Answer was long and deliver'd in Writing, which Dr. *Fairfax*, did not set his Name to. And *Jefferies* taking it for a sign of his compliance, said with his usual Eloquence, *Ay this looks like a Man of Sense, and a good Subject, Let us hear what he will say*, But finding he talk'd boldly in behalf of Dr. *Hough*'s Election, He told him, *He was a Doctor of Divinity and not of Law*; To this the Doctor reply'd, *He desir'd to know by what Commission they sat?* Which threw the Chancellor into one of his accustom'd Fits of Passion and Railing, He crying out, *Pray what Commission have you to be so impudent in Court? This Man ought to keep in a Dark Room. Why do you suffer him with-*

out

out a Guardian? Why did you not bring him to me to beg him? Pray let the Officers Sieze him. The Commissioners taking no notice of the Allegations against *Farmer*, his Scandalous Life and Hypocrisy depriv'd Dr. *Hough*, and Suspended Dr. *Aldworth*, and Dr. *Fairfax*. However, the Court being at last asham'd of so vile a Fellow as *Farmer*, a new Mandate was presented for a Person of a little better Reputation, Dr. *Parker* Bishop of *Oxon*, whom the College cou'd not chuse according to their Statutes, Dr. *Hough* being their Lawful President. The Fellows refusing to obey this Mandate, the King came to *Oxford* in Person, and Commanded them to attend him at *Christ-Church*. He than ask'd Dr. *Pudsey*, the Senior of the Fellows that appear'd before him, *whether they had receiv'd His Letter*. The Doctor answer'd *they had*; The King reply'd in an Angry Tone, Then you have done very uncivily by me and undutifully. The Fellows kneeling offer'd a Petition, and representing the Duty that lay on them by their Oaths to observe their Founder's Statutes, *&c.* The King refus'd to receive their Petition, and expres's'd himself in these Passionate Words, *Ye have been a Stubborn, Turbulent College, I have known you to be so these Twenty Five Years. You have affronted me in this, Is this your Church of* England's *Loyalty? One wou'd wonder to find so many Church of* England *Men in such a Business. Go home, and shew your selves good Members of the Church*

of

of England. Get you gone, Know that I am your King, I will be obey'd, and I command you to be gone, To admit the Bishop of Oxon *Head Principal, What d'ye call it of your College?* (one that stood by said President,) *I mean President of the College. Let them that refuse it look to't, They shall feel the weight of their Sovereign's Displeasure.* Here's Liberty, Here Property, Here the Glorious Advantage of a Popish King and Arbitrary Government. All the Laws in *England* were on the side of the Fellows. And the King has nothing to say against it. But, *Know that I am your King, I will be obey'd.*

The Fellows going out of the Presence were call'd back, and His Majesty said, *I hear you have admitted a Fellow of the College, since my Inhibition, have you, not admitted Mr.* Holden *Fellow,* Dr. Pudsey *answer'd, I think he was admitted Fellow, but we conceive*——— Upon which Mr. *Craddock* proceeded, *May it please your Majesty, there was no New Election or Admission, but only the Consummation of a former Election*; To this the King reply'd, *The Consummation of a former Election, is downright Disobedience; and is a fresh Aggravation. Get you home, I say again, and immediately repair to your Chappel, and Elect the Bishop of* Oxford, *or else you must expect to feel the weight of my Hand.*

The Fellows offering their Petition again on their Knees, the King said to them, *Get you home, I will receive nothing from you, till you have obey'd me.* The King going

going from *Oxford* to *Bath*, the College preſented an Addreſs to Him there, which had no more effect on his Majeſty than their other Submiſſion. *William Pen* the *Quaker*, at that time a Courtier and Favourite, wrote a Letter to Dr. *Bayly*, to perſwade them to comply; in which was this Fine Argument, *Every Mechanick knows the Temper of the Preſent King, who never will receive a Baffle in any Thing:* A happy Diſpoſition in a limited Monarchy, where the King is as much Subject to the Laws as his People. To conclude this Affair, *Cartwright*, Biſhop of *Cheſter*, *Wright* the Chief Juſtice, and Baron *Jenner*, were ſent to viſit *Magdalen* College, which Viſitation *Cartwright* open'd with a Speech, wherein he urg'd that the *Church of* England *taught an Unlimited, Unconditional Obedience*, the very Doctrine that has lately been reviv'd among us, as well in Sermons as Addreſſes. He then ask'd Dr. *Hough*, *Whether he wou'd ſubmit to his Viſitatation?* The Doctor anſwer'd, *they wou'd ſubmit to it as far as was conſiſtent with the Law of the Land, and the Statutes of the College, and no farther*: The next Queſtion the Biſhop ask'd was, *Whether they obſerv'd all the Statutes?* Dr. *Hough* reply'd, *They hop'd they did*, *Then* ſays this Orthodox Prelate, *Why do not you read Maſs, there's a Statute for that*, Dr. *Hough* anſwer'd, *The Matter of it was Unlawful, and in ſuch a Caſe no Man was oblig'd to take an Oath; Beſides that Statute was taken away by the Laws of the Land.*

Theſe

These Three Commissioners requir'd Dr. *Hough* several times to deliver up the Keys, and quit Possession of his Lodgings, which the Doctor refusing, the King's Proctor pronounc'd him Guilty of Contumacy, and the Bishop thrice admonish'd him to quit his Lodgings, and act no longer as President, demanding of the Fellows, *Whether they wou'd admit the Bishop of* Oxon, *since Dr.* Hough's *Election was declar'd void*, to which the greater part answer'd; *They cou'd not do it without Perjury*, Dr. *Hough* came into the Court without Attendance, and when it was ended having desir'd to be heard, spoke thus; *That they having been pleas'd to deprive him of his Place of President of that College, he did protest against all their Proceedings in Prejudice of Him and his Right as Illegal, Unjust and Null: Therefore he appeal'd to his Sovereign Lord the King, in his Courts of Justice.* Upon this the Schollars and others in the Room gave a Humm, for which, tho' Dr. *Hough* offer'd to clear himself of the Offence by Oath, he was bound in a 1000 *l.* Bond, and Security for the like Sum to make his Appearance at the *King's-Bench-Bar* next Term; *Wright* Saying, *They had met with nothing but Affronts from the College, that as for himself he valu'd not what People said of Him; but was resolv'd to vindicate the Honour of his Master to the last drop of his Blood, and if the Civil Power could not keep them in a Order the Military should.* A Comfortable Reflection, for those who would bring us back

back into the same State of Misery, by calling in the *Pretender*, who having been educated under King *Lewis* and King *James*, must make a fine Monarch for a Free People. *Jenner* with as much Wit as Reason, told the President, *Sir you must not think to huff us*, making a vile Pun on his Name. After this the Commissioners broke open Dr. *Hough*'s Lodgings, and gave Possession of them to Mr. *Wiggins*, the Bishop of *Oxford*'s Chaplain, whom he appointed his Proxy. None of the Fellows being present at this Outrage or *Wiggin*'s Installation but *Charnock*. The Bishop of *Chester* again askt the Fellows *Whether they would now obey the Bishop of* Oxford; Dr. *Fairfax* reply'd, *He neither could nor would Obey him, having already a Lawful and Statutable President*, for which he was expell'd immediately. The same Question being particularly put to Mr. *Fulham*, He alledg'd, *That the Bishop of* Oxford *had no Possession in due form of Law, and that he was inform'd the Proper Officer to give Possession of a Freehold, was the Sheriff, with a* Posse Comitatus. The Commissioners reply'd, *You may have one soon enough*, and Suspended him. After which the Commissioners adjourn'd to *London*, to give the King an Account of their Proceedings, and having new Instructions, again return'd to *Oxford*, where they presently made Two Popish Fellows of the College, *Joyner* and *Allybone* dispensing with all Oaths, besides that of the College. The Bishop of *Chester* Entertain'd them with

another Harangue, telling them, among other things, *If you will persist to oppose the Royal Power of the King, We who are come to vindicate the Right and Honour of his Majesty, resolve to discharge our Consciences and Duties to God and the King, without any Respect of Popularity, which is but the Paradise of Fools, and therefore, as for us we have no more Regard to Peoples dislike than what they Dream.* So they at once turn'd out Twenty Six Fellows, keeping in none but Mr. *Thomas Smith*, *Charnock* and *Thompson*, who were the only Fellows of all that Society that wou'd give up their own Rights, and the Rights of the College to the King's *Will and Pleasure*, which was not yet, as much Law in *England* as it is in *France*; tho' it wou'd soon have greater Force than a Statute, if ever we shou'd take a King from thence.

The College being thus handled by the Visitors, *Charnock* was made their Vice President, and more Papists admitted, Bishop *Parker* acting as President try'd all ways to bring the *Demies* to comply with the Kings, and his own Designs, which they generally refus'd, and He wrote thus Courtly to Court, *That he found it signify'd little to have crack'd the* Lice *unless they also destroy'd the* Knits; so Orders were sent him to Expel the *Demies*, among whom I am inform'd were, Dr. *Robert Friend*, School-Master of *Westminster*, and Dr. *John Friend* Physician; Of the latter, I can speak with more certainty, and to his Glory, that after Four and Twenty Years

Years Study, and the Experience of two *Revolution* Reigns; He has found out what the Bishop of *Chester* told them, that *Obedience should be unlimitted and unconditional.* For such is the Language of the Party of which he is so *bright an Ornament.*

In the Order of Time, the Usage of the University of *Cambridge* by the *Ecclesiastical Commissioners*, should have been first mention'd. The King had granted a *Mandamus* to one *Alban Francis* a *Benedictine* Monk, to take the Degree of Master of Arts, which being read in the Consistory, 'twas unanimously agreed, that they could not admit him, unless he took the usual Oaths, without Breach of their own. They apply'd to the Duke of *Albemarle*, their Chancellor, who did what he could to serve them, but to no purpose; for the Secretary of State gave 'em to understand, *His Majesty had seen the Vice-Chancellor's Letter, was offended at their Proceedings, and would take Orders shortly to give them a further Answer*, which was a Summons by the Messenger *Atterbury*, to the Vice-Chancellor Dr. *Peachet* to appear before the *Ecclesiastical Commissioners*, which he and the University Deligates did. The Chancellor *Jefferies*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, the Earl of *Mulgrave*, now Duke of *B.* and *N.* the Bishops of *Durham* and *Rochester*, and the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas being present. After some trifling Questions propounded by *Jefferies*, he told the Vice-Chancellor, "That he

" being guilty of great Disobedience to " the King's Command, and other Crimes " and Contempt of the Court, they " had sentenc'd him to be depriv'd of " his Office of Vice-Chancellor, and ac- " cordingly they suspended him, *ab Officio* " *& Beneficio*, of his Headship of *Magda-* " *len* College, and that he should not " presume to meddle in any publick " Business relating to the University. Both the Prosecutions being so Arbitrary and Illegal, the whole Nation took the Allarm, and it is certain, that from this time their Hearts and Eyes were return'd towards the Prince of *Orange*, whose coming the Bishop's Tryal hasten'd, and the security of our Church necessarily requir'd, tho some of her Members, who boast most of Zeal for her, have most ungratefully disclaim'd it.

Besides this, the Commissioners summoned the Chancellor's Commissaries and Archdeacons of most of the Bishopricks to return the Names of all the Ministers that had not read the King's Declaration for dispensing with our Laws, and near two hundred Ministers were suspended in the Diocess of *Durham*, for refusing to read it. The next Charge in the Declaration of Rights is,

By levying Money for and to the use of the Crown by Pretence of the Prerogative, for other Time and in other Manner than the same was granted by Parliament.

This

This has Allusion to King *James's* seizing that Part of the Customs and Excise, which ceas'd at the Death of King *Charles* II. The Officers of these two great Branches of the Revenue, levy'd it still with all manner of Severity, and the Nation was so infatuated, that Addresses were made to thank the King for this Invasion of the Law; one of which was extorted from the Temple, and presented by Sir *Humphry Mackworth*, who owes his Knighthood to that Service. A Man of Quality and Learning, and whose Family has in all Ages distinguish'd themselves by their Love of Liberty, writes thus on the Confirming this Revenue by Parliament.

"Upon the Demise of King *Charles*, "what necessity was there to continue "the Excise to King *James*, I mean the "Moiety then determin'd? Could "any thing under a Popish Prince be a "greater Security to the Protestant Re"ligion and Liberty of the Kingdom "than the smallness of the Revenue? "And was it not the main Argument of "King *Charles* and the Clergy against "passing the Bill of Exclusion: That "though the Crown should come to a "Popish Successor, he could not be able "to force his Religion upon the Nation, "by the reason of the falling off of one "half of the Excise at King *Charles's* "Death. But what a weak Argument that was, the Practice of King *James* prov'd, for he did not suffer that one

half to ceaſe, nor indeed a Penny of the Revenue that was paid to his Brother, whether it ended with him or not. The next Article is,

By raiſing and keeping a ſtanding Army within the Kingdoms in Time of Peace, without Conſent of Parliament, and Quartering Soldiers contrary to Law.

The Eſtabliſhment, when the Army was disbanded in the Year 1678 by Sir *Thomas Player*, Chamberlain of *London*, and the other Commiſſioners, was 5650 Soldiers. The Parliament was ſo jealous of the Army, that they gave a large Sum, twice for the disbanding of it after it had been raiſ'd under Pretence of a League with *Holland* againſt *France*. The firſt Sum near 700000 *l.* King *Charles* diſpos'd of otherwiſe. The next they would not truſt him with, but order'd it to be paid into the Chamber of *London*. After the Garriſon of *Tangier* was brought over and plac'd in the moſt conſiderable Parts of *England*, the Eſtabliſhment was about 8500 Men, which King *James* found it, and which he took occaſion, upon the Fright of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Invaſion to encreaſe to 16000. He then call'd his Parliament, and being ſo well back'd, told them in a haughty Speech, "He "had increas'd his Army, put in Offi-"cers not qualify'd by the Teſt, and "that he would not part with them. This his own giving Parliament diſliking

the Army and the Popiſh Officers, he prorogu'd, diſſolv'd them, and met no other in his time. He commanded ſeveral *Iriſh* Regiments to joyn with the *Engliſh*, which now made above 24000 Men. With theſe he encamp'd on *Hounſlow Heath*, when the Seaſon would permit, to fright the City of *London*, which put not only them, but the whole Kingdom into Terror and Confuſion. From 2000, the *Iriſh* Eſtabliſhment, he encreas'd it to 9000, and proportionably in *Scotland*. The Soldiers in *England* were quarter'd even in private Houſes, and their Inſolence ſo great, no Man could ſleep in his own Houſe in Security; Riots, Robberies and Rapes were committed by them with Impunity, and the only Offence that was puniſh'd was Deſertion, which was judg'd by Martial Law in time of Peace, and Sir *John Holt* for refuſing to condemn a Man to Death illegally on that Account, was diſmiſt from being Recorder of *London*. The following Charge is,

By cauſing ſeveral good Subjects, being Proteſtants, to be diſarm'd, at the ſame time when Papiſts were both arm'd and employ'd contrary to Law.

This Effect of Arbitrary Power was exp rienc'd as early as the Year 1678, when Levies were made in *Ireland*, all compos'd of *Iriſh* Papiſts, to whom the Duke of *Ormond* would give no Arms, ſo they were exercis'd with Sticks. King *James* did

the same in *England*, most of the Counties were in the Hands of Popish Lord Lieutenants and Deputy Lieutenants, there being hardly a Papist in the Kingdom of any Consideration, who was not in some Commission or other. The Protestants were disarm'd at Pleasure, under notion of being disaffected, and Friends to *Monmouth*, and the Papists began already to treat them as People doom'd to Slavery and Destruction. King *James* having made so frank a Declaration to the Parliament, that he would employ his Catholicks in spite of the Test. It cannot be doubted but he was as good as his Word, and it will therefore be needless to say any more on this Head, so we proceed to the next.

By violating the Freedom of Elections of Members to serve in Parliament; by Prosecutions in the Court of Queen's Bench, for Matters Cognizable only in Parliament, and by divers other Arbitrary and Illegal Practices.

All the *Quo Warranto's* were so many Violations of the Freedom of Elections, *Brent*, *Graham* and *Burton* being employ'd to model the Corporations, as the Court thought fit to get a Parliament to their Mind, and the Candidates were prepar'd by the King himself, to receive and consent to such Laws as he pleas'd to have made, of which a Memorial to the Prince and Princess of *Orange* gives

this

this Account; " His Majesty has Per-
" sonally sollicited and attack'd so many
" of the Electors for Parliament, by his
" Frowns, and Smiles, and Secrets, to
" accept of such for their Deputies in
" Parliament as will comply with his De-
" signs; that his *Closetting* Electors is
" become a By-Word among the People.
" He has made them consent to be
" barr'd of their Freedom in electing
" for Parliament, and in voting therein,
" if they be chosen, to be a Test of their
" Fitness to hold their Offices or Em-
" ployment of Profit and Trust, and to
" have a Place in the Magistracy: And
the Ingenious Dr. *Welwood* makes this Ob-
servation upon it, in a Discourse of his
about calling a new Parliament in the
Year 1690. *What woeful Breaches have been made of this our Native Privilege, we have had too many Experiences in the last Reigns, when Letters, Promises and Threats from Court were made use of to promote Elections, and when few durst venture to serve their Country, if not recommended by those at the Helm? But in order to set our present Condition, and that under the late Reign, in a better Light, it may be perhaps not amiss to give a Letter communicated to me from a Noble Person, to whom it was written in King* James's *Reign by a great Minister of State, upon a Design of calling King* James's *Parliament.*

MY

MY LORD,

IT being his Majesty's Royal Intention to render all his Subjects, of whatever Perswasion in Religion, happy and easy under his Government, and for that great End to call a Parliament to meet at Westminster *on* _____ *next, It is expected of your Lordship, and I am commanded by his Majesty to acquaint you, That it is his Pleasure, you make use of your Interest in the County of* _____, *forgetting* (here are two particular Persons nam'd) *duly elected Knights for the said County in the ensuing Parliament, as Persons of whose Loyalty and good Affection, his Majesty has received sufficient Information. And I am to assure your Lordship, that as your hearty Concurrence herein, will be esteem'd singular good Service done to his Majesty, and incline him to put some mark of his Favour upon you for so doing; so a Neglect herein will be look'd upon by his Majesty as a Piece of ill Service, and may draw upon your Lordship his Majesty's Displeasure, which will be more than enough to ruin you in the present Circumstances your Lordship is in. I put no doubt in your Lordship's hearty Complyance in this Matter, and am*

Your Lordship's

Humble Servant.

If such a Letter as this, and a great many others of the same Strain, sent through

through most of the Counties of *England*, were written by King *James*'s Command at a time when the Mask was not yet quite taken off, what Methods might we have expected afterwards in the Elections for Parliament, if that Prince had an Opportunity to call one at a time when he was pleas'd to make no Secret of his Intention to enslave us, and had prepar'd all Necessaries to put it in Execution.

As to *Arbitrary and Illegal Practices*, I might fill a Volume with Particulars of them. But I have already said enough, and shall now repeat only what Sir *John Hawles*, late Sollicitor General, has said on this Subject. "Did it not provoke "all the Nation when all the Charters "were seiz'd, and not re-granted but at "excessive Rates, to the Starving the "Poor, which should have been fed with "the Money which went to purchase "the new Charters, and reserving "the Disposition of all the Places of "Profit and Power within the New "Corporations to the King? Nay, the "very Election of Burgesses, the Free-"ness of which is the great Fundamen-"tal of the Goverment was monopo-"liz'd, and put into a few Hands. "Did not the turning out many of the "Soldiery and Clergy without any Rea-"son, and for that purpose erecting Ar-"bitrary Courts, and granting Dispen-"sations to Persons by Law disabled, to "enable them to have and enjoy the

"Places

" Places and Offices of such as were ille-
" gally turn'd out, and of all who should
" be in the like manner turn'd out; and
" was it not seen what the Consequences
" of those things would be by all who
" did not wink their Eyes, or who were
" not blinded by the Profit they made of
" such illegal and cruel Acts. In a Word,
if the taking away the City's Right of Electing Sheriffs was illegal, and as Sir *Edward Herbert* says in his Vindication, *Grand Juries return'd but such as are Sheriffs in Fact, but not in Right, are illegal, and Convictions on their Presentments are Illegal and Void.* What a Reign of Murder and Injustice was that I am now writing of. *The Truth is,* as Sir *John Hawles* further observes, *when I consider the Practice of late Times, and the Usage of the Prisoners, it is so much like, or rather worse than the Practice of the Inquisition, as I have read it, that I sometimes think it was in order to introduce Popery, and make the Inquisition, which is the most terrible Thing in that Religion, and which all Nations Dread seem easy in Respect of it.* The remaining Articles are,

And whereas of late Years Partial, Corrupt and Unqualified Persons have been return'd and serv'd on Juries, and particularly divers Jurors in Tryals of High Treason, which were not Freeholders.

And Excessive Bail hath been required of Persons committed in Criminal Cases to elude the

the Benefit of the Laws made for the Liberty of the Subject.

And Exceſſive Fines have been impoſed.

And illegal and cruel Puniſhments have been inflicted.

And ſeveral Grants and Promiſes made of Fines, and Forfeitures before any Conviction, or Judgment againſt the Perſons upon whom the ſame were to be levied.

All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known Laws and Statutes and Freedom of this Realm.

And whereas the late King James *the Second having abdicated the Government, the Throne being thereby vacant.*

His Highneſs the Prince of Orange, &c.

The Practice of packing Juries was ſo Infamous, that the beſt Blood in *England* was ſpilt by their illegal Verdicts. The firſt of theſe Articles has particularly relation to the Murder of my Lord *Ruſſel*, Father to the late Duke of *Bedford*, who Challeng'd the Foreman of his Jury being no Freeholder. And the matter was argu'd *Extempore* by his Lordſhips Council, Mr. *Pollexfen* and others; but the Judges over-rul'd them, and that Noble Lord was butcher'd by the Bloody Verdict of a Jury, whoſe Infamy will live as long as *Engliſh* Men have any Love of Liberty. By ſuch Juries it was, that *Colledge* was hang'd at *Oxford*, after he had been clear'd at *London*, that Col. *Sydney* dy'd for anſwering Sir *Rob. Filmer's*

mer's Book, in behalf of Tyranny; that Mr. *Corniſh* was hang'd, drawn and quarter'd before his own Door, by the Evidence of *Rumſey*, who own'd he was Perjur'd in the Lord *Ruſſel's* Tryal, in the very Point Sworn againſt Mr. *Corniſh*; that Mrs. *Liſle* loſt her Life for entertaining a Man ſhe did not know, and that Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* was hang'd without Tryal, which was as Legal as the taking off the reſt by Falſe Evidence and Corrupt Juries. The Sentences of theſe unhappy Sufferers, have all been repeal'd by Parliament, and their Deaths declar'd *Murders* by the Acts of Repeal. I have often thought, that if ever the Judgment of Heaven purſu'd Men upon Earth for their Guilt in this World, the Innocent Blood of the Perſons above-mention'd, follow'd the Court of St. *Germains* in their Exile, and ſhew'd them there as an Example, of the ſevere Juſtice of Providence, which no Power can reſiſt. And had that Court been Guilty of no other Offence, ſince Decency will not ſuffer me to give it a worſe Name, I ſhould have look't on all their Misfortunes afterwards without Pitty, and ſtill had thoſe bleeding Martyrs to Liberty in my Mind. I muſt own, I cannot read this Part of their Story without Horror: What then muſt the Cryes and the mangled Bodies of Mr. *Johnſon*, Mr. *Dangerfield* and *Oates*, raiſe in every Humane Mind. The Invention of *Phalaris* of *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Nero* and *Domitian*, and all the Enemies of Mankind

of

of Old, comes ſhort of the Cruelty exercis'd on thoſe Three *Engliſh* Men. And the Scene of Blood and Horror, that fill'd the Streets of *London* at that time, was ſuch as muſt certainly give all that ſaw it, an inexpreſſible Dread of a Popiſh and Arbitrary Government. If thoſe Horrid Puniſhments had been Legal, it muſt ſet every honeſt Heart againſt him that cou'd inflict them. But they were all as Unjuſt as they were Barbarous. After this, why ſhou'd I make any mention of ſo ſlight a Matter as *Fines* or *Damages*, though adjudg'd with an *Exorbitancy* that never was heard of; as Mr. *Dutton-colt* 100000 *l.* for ſpeaking againſt the Duke of *Beaufort*; Mr. *Thomas Pilkington* 100000 *l.* for ſaying K. *James* was a *Papiſt*; Sir *Samuel Barnardiſton* 10000 *l.* for writing ſome News to a Friend in the Country about the Plot. Why ſhould I ſpeak of the Duke of *Devonſhire*'s Fine of 30000 *l.* for giving *Culpeper* a Box on the Ear, and of many other Damages and Fines, of 10000 *l.* 20000 *l.* 40000 *l.* and 100000 *l.* *The Truth of which*, ſays Sir *John Hawles*, *many Living Witneſſes to their Sorrow can teſtify.* The Tragedy of the Earl of *Eſſex*, is indeed a fit ſubject for a *Secret Hiſtory*, but the high Names that muſt be made uſe of, and the Care that conſequently was taken to prevent ſuch Proof as would ſilence all Gainſayers, forbids my treating of it too cloſely. From the Character of that Peer, his Vertue, ſtrict Piety, and excellent Underſtanding, I could as ſoon believe,

lieve, that he would have kill'd his Father as himself. From the Circumstances of his Death, from the timing of it, I shall always remain satisfy'd in my self, that he had not fair Play. I remember to have read in a Book written on the *Irish* Affairs, that the Earl's Moderation to the *Catholicks* there, made the Duke of *York* think he was of his Party, and to get him continu'd in the Government of *Ireland*, when means were us'd to have him remov'd. But finding afterwards, that that Moderation cover'd a most warm Zeal for the *Protestant Religion, and the* English *Interest, it contracted him*, says the Author, *the Hatred of the Duke of* York, *who from that time set up Private Designs against him.* I know very well, what Arts were us'd to frustrate the officious Attempts of *Bradden* and *Speake*, to discover the Earl of *Essex*'s Murder, so far as by Promise of Favour to his Family, to procure a Publick disowning them in it, in a Paper Sign'd by the *Dowager*. I am not so given to Visions, as to trust to the Evidence they produc'd to corroborate the General Suspicion, that he did not dye by his own Hands; but truly this I must say, that enough was attested before the Committee of the Lords, who examin'd that matter, to shew that if he was not murder'd, there never in any Case happen'd so many unlucky Accidents giving Cause to suspect it. What sways with me most, is the Day and Hour of his Death, and I perceive Persons of Gravity and

Judge-

Judgment are as doubtful of the fairneſs of it as my ſelf, particularly the late Solicitor General, in his Remarks on the Lord *Ruſſel*'s Tryal. He is ſpeaking of his Lordſhip being Arraign'd, and Try'd the ſame Morning, notwithſtanding he urg'd that his Witneſſes could not be in Town till Night. Yet, ſays that Learned Lawyer, *The Reſpite till next Day was deny'd: All Perſons agreed that there was extraordinary Reaſon for it, and before the Trial was over, the Riddle was out. My Lord of* Eſſex *was kill'd, or to be kill'd that Morning; they were ſenſible the Evidence againſt my Lord* Ruſſel *was very defective, and that Accident was to help it out; but that wou'd not avail, unleſs it were a Surprizing Matter upon the Jury. Should the Jury have but a Day, or a Mornings Time to conſider of it, People might have been talking with them, they might have been told what was true, that no Perſon kill'd, was in Law ſuppos'd to have kill'd himſelf, till a Coroner's Inqueſt had ſat upon the view of his Body, and found it ſo. They might have been told a great many Circumſtances of the improbability of the killing himſelf, which was ſlily inſinuated, and had its Effect; ſome of the Jury-Men ſaying, it went farther with them, than all the Evidence of the Witneſſes produc'd.* The Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick*, who did the wicked Drudgery, to Swear this Lord and others, out of their Lives, for a Starving Penſion, affected a wonderful Surprize when he heard it, dropt Crocodile Tears, and with Diſſembled Grief, did what he could to move the Jury, as much as he ſeem'd to be

mov'd himself. Such was the Injustice, Corruption and Cruelty of those Partial Jurors, there was no Prospect for *English* Men but Slavery and Misery. They had no Deliverer to look to, but the Prince of *Orange*, who liv'd outwardly in great Friendship with his Father-in-Law. He offer'd him, as has been hinted, his Troops and his Service against *Monmouth*, and tho' he had no Reason to be satisfy'd with the Returns that were made him, yet he resolv'd to have Patience. The same Resolution had the People of *England* under all their Sufferings, till King *James* attempted to have the Curse entail'd upon them, by destroying the Princess of *Orange*'s Right of Succession, and bringing a supposititious Prince on the Stage, to ravish from Her her Inheritance. This was his last and most desperate Step, which made it of Absolute Necessity for the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, to assert their own Right in our Deliverance. Before the Papists would let King *James* proceed so far, Endeavours were us'd to gain the Prince and his Consort to consent to the Repeal of the Penal Laws and Test. There was about that time, a Paper written, call'd *A Memorial from the* English *Protestants, to their Highnesses the Prince and Princess of* Orange, *concerning their Grievances, and the Birth of the Pretended Prince of* Wales. Addrest to Mr. *Bentinck*, and first Printed in *Novemb.* 1688. Whether it was actually Sign'd by any Person of Rank and Interest, or by any Number of Persons, whether it

is

is the Invitation the Prince referr'd to in his Declaration, or that Invitation was *Viva Voce*, by *Engliſh* Lords and Gentlemen who went from *England* to *Holland*, for that purpoſe, I ſhall not here conſider; or whether it was deliver'd at all to Mr. *Bentinck*, or was any more than a Scheme proper to anſwer the End of the Title; but it has the Air of a Writing drawn up with great Judgement and Deliberation, and not by a ſimple Perſon, but the agreement of Numbers, as ſhall be further inquir'd into. The Facts are true, and the Reaſonings juſt, which will juſtifie me in making uſe of it. I there find, that before the Prieſts incited King *James* to conſent to ſo Scandalous an Impoſition on himſelf and the Nation, as a Fictitious Child, all Councils were examin'd that had any Face of ſecuring the Advantages that Popery might gain under him. It was propos'd, to bind up the Princeſs of *Orange* on Her Acceſſion to the Crown, to ſuch Conditions as were obtain'd in Parliament, in the Caſes of Queen *Mary* and Queen *Elizabeth*, which they hop'd to ſtrengthen, by the King's putting the *Papiſts* into Poſſeſſion of all the Forts and Places of the Kingdom, united by the Power of the *French* King; by which means She ſhould neither get nor keep Poſſeſſion of the Throne, unleſs She ſubmitted to, and depended on the *Papiſts*. They flatter'd themſelves, that by the ſpecious Name of *Liberty of Conſcience*, by Cloſettings and Penſions, a Parliament might be Choſen to do this for them. But the

Wiſer ſort ſaw the Difficulty, or rather Impoſſibility of this Project; and thoſe who had moſt Caution, and the beſt Fortunes, fearing a Mercenary Army, and a *French* Power, propos'd that his Majeſty ſhould try the Force of his Fatherly Authority with his Royal Highneſs, and uſe all the Arguments of Intereſt to reduce Her either to change her own Religion, or concur in a full Liberty to his. In this Buſineſs one *Stewart* was employ'd, who having been a Refugee at the *Hague*, was pardon'd by King *James*, and to make his Court, pretended a great Intereſt in Mr. *Fagel*, whom he undertook to perſwade to tranſact this Affair with the Prince and Princeſs, in the Year 1687. *Stewart*'s Letters to Mr. *Fagel*, the Penſionary of *Holland*, and Mr. *Fagel*'s Anſwers, have been ſo often Printed, I ſhall only give an Abſtract of them. The two firſt are Dated in *July*, and in them he expreſt to have aſſured the Prince, "That the King was reſolv'd "to maintain the true Right of Succeſſi- "on to the Crown, and was very deſirous "of their Highneſſes Conſent and Con- "currence to his Deſign, and troubled to "find them averſe to it." In his next Letter of the ſame *July*, he preſt Mr. *Fagel* to prevail with the Prince and Princeſs to admit a Truſty Meſſenger to inform them of Matters; and to diſpoſe them to agree. In this, he is in mighty haſte for an Anſwer, and it is thought that the Councils for bringing forth a Prince of *Wales*, were now ſet on Foot; not that they had not been

been thought of before; but the Prince of *Orange* acted ſo warily, that the Court of *England* was almoſt deceiv'd by it one time, and the Prieſts brag'd he was come over to their Intereſts, tho' it was not yet ſeaſonable for him to declare himſelf But by this time they were ſatisfy'd of the contrary, and the laſt Letter threatned, that if their Highneſſes were Obſtinate, it would be fatal to the Diſſenters, and he was afraid, wou'd produce Ills yet unheard of. In his Letter of *Auguſt* 5, he ſeems to give the Prince and Princeſs, their Choice of the Settlement of Popery, or to reſolve to be True to the Proteſtant Religion. He ſays, if his Highneſs did what was deſir'd by the King, it was the beſt Service to the Proteſtants, the higheſt Obligation on his Majeſty, and the greateſt Advancement of his own Intereſt that he could think on; but if not, then all is contrary. His Highneſs's Opinion, given by Mr. *Fagel* in Anſwer to *Stewart*'s Letter, and by the Marquiſs *D' Albyville*, King *James*'s Miniſter at the *Hague*, who was alſo employ'd to preſs their Highneſs's on this Subject, was with Reſpect to Papiſts; *For the Repealing all thoſe Penal Laws, under which they lay by reaſon of their Religion, but he did not think it adviſeable to repeal the Laws that excluded them from Sitting in Parliament and from Places of Truſt.* This gave Content to the more *Moderate Roman Catholicks*, but the Courtiers would have all or nothing, and from that time King *James* appear'd in all things extreamly alienated

from his Son and Daughter. He had doubtleſs a Struggle with his Honour, to conſent to own an *Impoſtor*; and there is ſomething ſo very baſe in the conniving at ſuch a Cheat, which he was aſham'd to confeſs afterwards, that I wonder how a King could ſubmit to it. And ſurely none but a *Popiſh King* could do a thing which the meaneſt Wretch in his Kingdom would diſown. Upon this Denial of the Prince to concur in the Repeal of the Penal Laws, the Queen was to make a Progreſs to the *Bath*, and St. *Winifred*'s Well, to prepare People to the Report of Her Conception, which was reſolv'd to be publiſh'd in *October*; but before it was Publickly declar'd, Mr. *Stewart* wrote Mr. *Fagel*, the 8th of that Month, *He would uſe no more Arguments, and lamented his Highneſs's Loſs of the Time of Compliance.* In *November* he ſpoke more plainly, *That all hope of his Highneſs's Concurrence was given over, and Men were become as cold in it here, as the Prince and Princeſs were Poſitive there.*

The King diſlik'd Mr. *Fagel*'s Anſwer, gave that Matter over, and took a Reſolution to proſecute his Deſign another way, which was to ſecure a Popiſh Succeſſor: For my part, though I ſhould not have valu'd the Pretender's Title a whit the better for his not being Suppoſitious, after the Acts of Settlement had otherwiſe diſpos'd of the Crown, yet as little trouble as we have been at to prove him a *Pretender* only, I ſee no Reaſon to think better of him. It was about the end of

Auguſt,

August the King was heard to say with Anger, *The Prince and Princess of* Orange *were obstinate in their Errors, and thought to make themselves Popular with the Church of* England, *and he would trouble himself no more about them, but they should repent it.* The King did not doubt but the Parliament would have repeal'd the Test, he had offer'd a Protestant Successor's Consent, and despairing of that, it was first said that the Queen was with Child. Upon which the Papists triumph'd, and the Priests gave out boldly, that it would set aside her Royal Highness's Right to the Succession, though it were a Daughter; ignorantly and impudently affirming, *that if the Queen had a Daughter born after the King came to a Crown, she ought to succeed before a Daughter born when he was only a Duke*; But as the Memorial has it, none except Papists gave credit to the Report that she was with Child, and the Fable of the Dutchess of *Modena*'s Request in *Purgatory*, and the Lady of *Loretto*'s helping her to Conceive a Son, for the sake of a fine Present, made all but the Papists believe it a meer Invention of the Priests. The Story took like a Popish Legend, and was a Matter of Laughter and Derision in Company, and of Raillery and Contempt in Lampoons, which were so common, that the Court seem to be infatuated, to imagine a Trick so generally discredited, and so negligently manag'd, would ever succeed.

The best Reason, and to me an Invincible one, that Queen *Mary* was not with Child, is the little Care she took to give unquestionable Evidence of it. After the manner of the Empress *Constantia*, Wife to *Henry* VI, Emperor of *Germany*; the Empress being in Years, and the People suspecting she was past Child-bearing, the Emperor gave abundant Proofs of her being big, and of her Delivery; he prepar'd a Place in publick, where she remain'd till her Labour *Ventre Custodito*, with Keepers, that no Suppositious Child might possibly be convey'd to her, and there in sight of the Citizens and all the Matrons that would and could possibly approach her, (none being excluded) she brought forth a Prince, who was afterwards the Emperor *Frederick* II.

A Story of the same Nature is told of a Queen of *Arragon*, who was deliver'd in the Camp of the King her Husband's Brother, who had taken Arms to procure Satisfaction as to the Reality of her Teeming.

And considering how Zealous Queen *Mary* was for her Religion; how her Heart was set on the recovering these Kingdoms to the Apostolick See, insomuch, that She is said to have told the Pope's Nuntio, *She hop'd by such a Time* (naming it) *to dine all the Hereticks in* England *for half a Crown, and that now they could not tell what to do*; Considering what an Affection she had for the *French* Interest, had she been really with Child, as Proud and Positive as she

was

was, knowing it was almoſt univerſally doubted, to prevent the ill Conſequeces of ſuch a Doubt, ſhe would certainly have rather been deliver'd at *Charing-Croſs*, than in a Hurry unprovided of that Proof, which Cuſtom and the Practice of *England* require. I am far from preſuming to offer my own Sentiments, as of any weight, in the Diſpute about Queen *Mary*'s Pregnency; but ſhall obſerve what others have thought and ſaid of it, tho, as I ſaid before, I think it is hardly worth while: For had Queen *Mary* been as Wiſe as the Empreſs *Conſtantia*, if her Son had been bred up in a Popiſh Tyrannical Court, and our Crown ſettled on ſo good a Queen, and a Proteſtant Succeſſion after her, he ſhould ſtill have been as much a Pretender to me as he is now, notwithſtanding the Madneſs of ſome Bigots have endeavour'd to reconcile the Revolution and *Hanover* Succeſſion to the Divine and Hereditary Right of Princes. Some of the Circumſtances of the Child's being Suppoſitious, are, that the Queen by Sickneſs and Infirmities was diſabled from bringing forth a Living Child. The famous Dr. *Willis* ſhew'd that Opinion to his Brethren, of one of her Children when ſhe was much ſtronger, ſaying there were *Mala Stamina Vitæ*. Her Majeſty's Pregnancy was not only doubted at Home but Abroad, and Pamphlets were publiſh'd in ſeveral Countries, declaring the Report of the Queen's being with Child to be only an Artifice of the

Jeſuits

Jesuits to advance the Interest of *France* and Popery.

The Custom in *England* in every such Case, is to give Notice to the next Heir of the approaching Delivery of the Queen, which was not done; she never had the first most Natural known and common Sign of Conception, her *Menses Profluvium* continu'd, her Breasts never swell'd, nor was there any Milk ever seen in them. All the outward Parts of her Body that incompasses the Womb, were of the same Proportion they were at other times; she, contrary to her former usual Course, always withdrew into her Cabinet or some other private Room, when she chang'd her Linnen, and would never suffer any Protestant Lady to be by. The Place of her intended Lying in was often publish'd so variously, that none of those Ladies could know how to prepare themselves for Attendance. It was resolv'd to be at St. *James's* three Weeks before it was expected. It was told her, it was not possible for her Lodgings to be got ready, she then said *she would lie on the Floor*. Her Royal Highness the Princess of *Denmark* was kept at the Bath by the Advice of Physicians instructed for that purpose till the time was over. The Queen was late at Cards on *Saturday* Night very well, and on a sudden said she would lie at St. *James's*, and she cry'd out the next Day about Ten a Clock, so ordering it, that the Protestant Ladies might be at Church, and the Trick over before they

they return'd, that the Midwife and the Favourite might have opportunity to act their ſeveral Parts. The Room pitch'd upon was fit for the purpoſe; there was a private Door within the Rail of the Bed into a Room from whence a Child might be ſecretly brought and put into the Bed unſeen by any that ſhould attend in the Queen's Room, though at the Feet of the Bed, none of them coming into the Rail; and by that Door the three Confidents, the Midwife, Mrs. *Labadie*, and Mrs. *Tourain* brought into her Majeſty's Bed what they pleas'd unſeen. All the Tranſactions were manag'd by that ſecret Door, as is well known to all thoſe Lords of the Council who were brought for a ſhew, not to ſee any thing that was done, but only to be ſeen in the Bed-Chamber with the King, that their Names might be publiſh'd to the People.

The Midwife's Preparatories were not in a readineſs, ſo haſty was the Queen and her Creatures to have it over; ſhe lay in Bed with all the Curtains round cloſe drawn; and when every thing was prepar'd in the inner Chamber, her Majeſty began to act her Part in the feign'd Travail, the three Confidents bringing every thing by the Door in the Wall by the Queen's Bed-ſide, among which the *Memorial* tells us, *were a Child and every thing that Naturally attends a Birth.* I do not pretend to go ſo far, to ſay it was ſo, I only repeat the Circumſtances that might

might reaſonably give Jealouſy. The thing being ſo done, is enough to convince me, as I have already ſaid, though how the Impoſture was manag'd, I am affraid will never be fully diſcover'd; ſuch is the Fidelity of Popiſh Councils, when their Religion is concerned. Other ſuſpicious Circumſtances from the ſame Authority, are, the three Women ſeem'd very buſy about her Majeſty in the dark, none ſeeing what they did, and being afraid, as appear'd by the Midwife's Words, that the Child which was prepar'd to ſleep, to prevent its crying before it was got into Bed, ſhould be ſtifled by the cloſeneſs of it, they were forc'd to haſten the Queen's pretended Delivery, beyond what was reaſonably to be believ'd. What follows I take Verbatim. "But nothing appear'd in "her Majeſty like the real Natural "Travail of a Woman in Child-bearing; "there were none of the uſual Natural "Signs in her Majeſty of being in real "Travail, which cannot be hidden. There "was no appearance of approaching La-"bour by various Intermitting Pangs. "No ſhew of the Pains naturally and "gradually increaſing. No ſigns of her "Majeſty's known Weakneſs in bearing "ſuch Pangs, all that was to be feign'd "was ſuddenly diſpatch'd, and the Mid-"wife deliver'd ſomething cloſe cover'd "to Mrs. *Labadie*, which could be no-"thing but the Child they had put in, and "went in together thro the Privy Door,

within

" within the Rail of the Bed into the next
" Room in ſo great haſte, that it was not
" conſider'd how plainly it might diſco-
" ver that all was counterfeit, the Mid-
" wife leaving her Majeſty in thoſe Mo-
" ments when there was the greateſt
" Neceſſity of her Skill and Aſſiſtance.
" None of either Sex was permitted to
" ſee any thing done about her Majeſty,
" or her ſuppos'd Child, but the three
" Confidents; no other of thoſe in the
" Bed-Chamber that drew as near as they
" might, was ſuffer'd to ſee what was
" taken out of the Bed, being ſomething
" wholly cover'd, and immediately car-
" ried away thro' the Private Door. The
" crying of a Child was heard by none.
" During the whole fictitious Travail of the
" Queen, and a conſiderable Time after
" it, his Majeſty kept thoſe Lords of the
" Council that were call'd, not far from
" the Feet of her Majeſty's Bed, that were
" cloſe ſhut up. They neither ſaw nor
" heard any thing about the Birth of the
" ſuppos'd Prince, of which they cou'd be
" Lawful Witneſſes. After long waiting
" the King left them, and went into the
" Inner Room to Mrs. *Labadie*; and it
" was ſoon after ſaid a Prince was born:
" And ſo little cautious were the Conſpi-
" rators to carry on this Plot artfully,
" that after the De ivery there was no
" Appearance in the Queen of the Natu-
" ral Effects of Child-bearing, tho' it was
" ſo eaſy to be diſſembled. They ſeem'd
to defy Suſpicion, aſſuring themſelves,
that

that when it was ſaid a Prince was brought forth, and a luſty lovely one, if they cou'd not force Belief they cou'd force Obedience. I do not lay any other ſtreſs on all this Circumſtancial Evidence, than as it helps to corroborate what I was determin'd to believe by the Weakneſs or Negligence of the Court, in not putting this Matter out of all Queſtion, which was in their Power, and of the laſt Importance: Whereas, tho' they knew there was not one in five hundred who believ'd a Word of the Conception; yet they ſeem'd to leave nothing undone that might confirm People in their Suſpicions.

As to the Depoſitions of the Lords and Ladies on that Subject, when King *James* was frighted with the Rumour of the Prince's Preparations, there were none almoſt found among the Witneſſes, but ſuch as were ſuſpected Perſons, Officers, Penſioners, and the King's Domeſtick Servants, beſides the Queen *Dowager*, and all her Majeſty and moſt part of what the Lords and Ladies ſaid may be true; yet the Child that was born not be born of the Queen. For ſays another Author of Note, who wrote two or three Years after, *The Aſſiſtants who are at the Beds Feet, and in a Corner of the Chamber, knew not what was laid in the Bed, nor whence it came which was taken out of it.* The main Objection to theſe Circumſtances is, why was there not ſufficient Proof of this? Why becauſe there was no need of it: The Parliament of *England* had voted the Throne Vacant, fill'd it

it with King *William* and Queen *Mary*, which gave them the beſt Title in the World; and it would have been to have weaken'd it, to allow any doubt of a Right in the *Pretender*. Princes are too Jealous of the Dignity of their Crown, to admit of Controverting their Title. *Henry* the VII. and Queen *Elizabeth* would never ſuffer any Acts in their Defence; tho' one had been attainted, and the other diſinherited by Parliament. The Poſſeſſion of the Crown takes off all Stains, and a Parliamentary Settlement conveys ſuch a Right, that whether the Child was Legitimate or Illegitimate, he had no more Pretence to it, I hope, than his Father, whom we abdicated for endeavouring to eſtabliſh Popery and Arbitrary Power; and for the ſame Reaſon ſhall, I hope, for ever abhor Subjection to his Son. It is not to be doubted but the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* were the more ready to protect us, when they ſaw their Rights invaded as well as ours; and what their Highneſſes thought of the Pretended Birth, may be ſeen in the Prince's Declaration, expreſs'd with great Modeſty: *There are great Preſumptions that oblige us to believe, that thoſe Evil Counſellors (for promoting their own Pernicious Deſigns, and for gaining of Time to execute them) ſpread a Report that the Queen was delivered of a Son; that during this pretended Bigneſs of the Queen, as well as in the Circumſtances of the Birth, and the Methods that were uſed for the Management of it, there appeared ſo many juſt and viſible*

visible Suspicions, that the pretended Prince of Wales *was not brought into the World by the Queen.* I must not forget with what Confidence the Papists and their Abettors declar'd many Months before the pretended Birth, that it would be a Prince. This they did more positively in *Ireland*, where they were Masters of less Wit and more Impudence. As soon as it was reported the Queen was with Child, the *Irish* said it wou'd be a Son; and a Gentleman of that Country writes, *they were so certain of it, they would lay* 20 *Guineas to One, or any other Wager in Proportion, from the highest to the lowest among them. This Assurance was much wonder'd at by the* English, *and judged to be very Extravagant, if not built upon some private Grounds and Inducement, which I leave the Reader to guess at; and which some amongst them were certainly acquainted with, whose Discourses among the rest created in them a Belief of some extraordinary Design then in Agitation.* Enough of this; and I am afraid too much for the sake of some scrupulous Persons, who for fear of being thought Credulous, affect to disbelieve every thing that has not the Evidence of Sense with it, and will allow no Circumstances in the Method of Proof. The Enemies of the Government laugh at them, and have always found Friends to imitate them in those that pretend to side with it. I have not said so much because I think it not necessary, but because I would leave with the Impartial Reader sufficient Grounds to confirm his Suspicions. And since King *James* knew by the general

general Vogue, that he was accus'd of a Deſign to leave the Crown to a Suppoſitious Prince, and refuſed to call a Free Parliament to decide the Matter, which the Prince of *Orange* demanded, as well as for the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Laws; ſince he left the Kingdom, carry'd away the Child and all the chief Witneſs. In ſhort, ſince he did whatever he could to increaſe People's Jealouſy, and to hinder the detecting the Fraud, let there be any thing or nothing in the *Jure Divino*, the Authority of the Nation cou'd not look on that Child but as an Impoſtor, and the Prince of *Orange* being a Sovereign, injur'd in his Right to the Succeſſion of three Kingdoms, is juſtify'd in taking Arms to aſſert it.

'Tis not queſtion'd but the Court at the *Hague* had an Eye all along to that of *England*, while the latter was invading the Laws, and deſtroying the Religion and Liberties of the Country, which had been effected entirely, had the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* been excluded the Succeſſion, and it is probable, that as ſoon as the Report began to ſpread of a Child, and a Son, to be born, Applications were made to their Highneſs's to deliver us, to which they could not then but have a very favourable Diſpoſition, Honour, Religion and Intereſt perſwading them to it.

I ſhall conclude this Head with ſome Judicious Obſervations on it, in a Paper publiſh'd four or five Months after King

William was proclaim'd. "To impose
"upon the People a ſuſpected Heir, in
"prejudice of the Lawful uncontrover-
"ted one, is an Action of the ſame Nature
"as that of *Alienating the Kingdom*; and
"one and the ſame Reaſon enforces the
"Lawfulneſs of both. Thus the then
"Prince of *Orange*, in right of his Prin-
"ceſs the Lawful Uncontroverted Heir
"in Reverſion to the Crown of *England*,
"ſeeing him that was upon the Throne
"ſo far abandon himſelf to bad and de-
"ſtructive Councils, as to ſet up a Pre-
"tended Heir in ſuch a manner, and
"with ſuch improbable Circumſtances
"as gave occaſion to the whole King-
"dom to ſuſpect the Truth of it,
"had the juſteſt Ground in the World
"to make War upon a Prince who had ſo
"abus'd his Power, and endeavour'd to
"defraud him and his Princeſs of their
"juſt Right of Reverſion to the Crown;
"and this he might do the rather, ſince
"King *James* and he were upon equal
"Ground, as to a Right of making War
"one upon another, being both Sove-
"reigns, and independent of one another.
"Further, though this Prince of *Wales*
"were a genuine one, as I ſcarce can be-
"lieve the Roman Catholicks themſelves
"are perſwaded that he is, the Prince
"of *Orange* had yet a juſtifiable Title to
"make War againſt King *James* upon the
"Ground of *Common Fame*, which fixes
"upon him the Injuſtice of impoſing a
"Suppoſitious Heir upon the Nation

" meerly to extinguiſh the former Right " in the then Princeſs of *Orange's* Perſon. " For 'tis agreed by all Lawyers, *That in " a dubious Caſe, even a colourable Title, " warrants one Sovereign Prince to make " War upon another.* Now as to the pre- " tended Prince of *Wales*, the Infatuati- " on of Popiſh Councils never appear'd " with greater Aggravations, than in the " management of that Affair. The Me- " thods and Conduct us'd during the late " Queen's pretended Bigneſs, and at her " Lying in, with all the concurring Cir- " cumſtances, were ſuch as King *James's* " greateſt Enemies would have wiſh'd " them; and they ſeem to have been " concerted and calculated for this very " end to perſwade the World, that " there was a ſuſpected Child impos'd up- " on them in that Birth. Nay, the De- " poſitions publiſh'd afterwards by way " of an After-Game, did naturally aggra- " vate the Jealouſies of thinking People, " inſtead curing them.

I cannot pretend to let the Reader into the Secret of the Correſpondence that was maintain'd by the Nobility and Gentry of *England* and the Court at the *Hague*, whether Gentlemen were continually going, and ſome always reſiding there to ſupport and cultivate it. as Mr. *Sidney*, Sir *Robert Peyton*, Sir *Rowland Gwyn*, Dr. *Burnet*, and others. The Nobility going and coming with all the Caution imaginable, the *French* and *Engliſh* Miniſters watching them very narrowly. The Lord *Mor-*

daunt, now Earl of *Peterborough*, had been ſome time in Diſgrace at the *Engliſh* Court, as alſo the Earl of *Macclesfield*, though no Family in *England* had deſerv'd more of the Crown. The Lord *Mordaunt*'s Father being in great Peril of a ſhameful Death, for conſpiring to reſtore King *Charles* II, and the Earl of *Macclesfield*, then Lord *Brandon*, being a Companion of his Exile. The Earl of *Wiltſhire* was ſent to *Holland* by his Father the Marquis of *Wincheſter*, whoſe Father's Services and Sufferings for the Royal Cauſe had been forgotten, and the Marquis forced to affect a Diſorder in his Underſtanding, which was otherwiſe very good, to ſave himſelf from his Enemies, who had miſrepreſented him to the King. The Earl of *Shrewsbury*, tho firſt Proteſtant of the Line of *Talbot*, who poſſeſt that Earldom, had not been long at the *Hague* before the Embarkation of the Troops for the Expedition to *England* was talk'd of. Colonel *Sydney* is ſaid to have been at *Rome* on that Errand, when *Caſtlemain* was there on another. It is certain the Pope was a Friend to the Revolution, and that all the Princes in *Chriſtendom*, who were not in the *French* Intereſt, wiſh'd well to it. The *Engliſh* Nobility and Gentry apply'd themſelves to the *States General* as well as to the Prince of *Orange*, as appears by the following Account of it given by *John Hampden* Eſq;, who was well acquainted with all the Steps taken in that great and neceſſary Deſign.

This

This Deplorable State of Things, says he, in a Treatise written by him, *Awaken'd the Minds of those of our Gentry and Nobility, who had any thing remaining in them, of the* English *Love of Liberty, and impatience of Slavery, which has so often rescu'd this Nation from the Brink of Ruin. They saw to what the Necessity of Self-defence oblig'd them, and resolv'd to shake off the Yoke they could not bear. In order to this, many of them apply'd to some Principal Members of the* States-General *of the* United Provinces, *and to the Prince of* Orange *(their Stadtholder and Captain-General) representing to them*, how nearly they were concerned in what then past in *England*, which was but one Branch of the Designs driven on by the *French* King and his Adherents, for enslaving all *Europe*, and rooting out what they call'd the Northern Heresy, both Name and Thing. They shew'd them, that if they suffer'd the Conspiracy of our Common Enemies to go any further, they would infallibly be involv'd in our Ruin, and that very speedily, and must necessarily fall under the *French* Yoke, of which they had felt the weight in the Years 1672 and 1673, and had lately heard more of it from those great Numbers of *French* Protestants who had taken Refuge in their Country. They intimated how Glorious it would be for them to become the Sanctuary of Oppress Innocence.

They put them in mind of what had heretofore been done for their Republick by the *English* Nation, when they had newly

caſt off the *Spaniſh* Tyranny, and were forc'd to implore the Succour of their Neighbours againſt a Power which then carried on the ſame Deſigns, and much by the ſame Methods which we have ſeen copy'd from them by the *French* in our Time. They convinc'd them, that all Reaſons of Gratitude, Humanity, Policy and Chriſtianity concurr'd to incline them to comply with their Requeſt in putting to their Helping Hand for the oppoſing a Bank to that Torrent which otherwiſe would overflow all *Chriſtendom*. Neither was this Buſineſs of a Nature to admit delay, they prov'd to them by Reaſons unanſwerable, that if they ſlipt the Opportunity then in their Hands, by the *French* King's drawing his Forces to the *Upper Rhine*, to begin the War by the Siege of *Philipsburgh*, (*which was occaſion'd by the falſe Intelligence he had receiv'd from his Ambaſſadors and Penſioners in our Court, who being intoxicated with ſome late Succeſſes, deſpis'd the People at a great Rate, and thought it below them to get Information of thoſe they call'd Malecontents*) I ſay, if they let paſs that Occaſion of helping us, it would in all probability be too late to attempt any thing hereafter. The two Kings hoping by their joynt Counſels in a ſhort time to put both the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* out of Capacity of diſputing their Pleaſure.

All theſe Arguments, and the Inſtances of our worthy Countrymen, prevail'd to that degree, that the States reſolv'd to lend us their beſt Troops, and accordingly the

Forces were order'd to rendezvous near *Nimeguen*, not far from the Elector of *Brandenburgh*'s Camp, who had march'd his Army thither to act in Conjunction with the Confederates, allarm'd by the *Dauphin*'s Hostilities in *Germany*. The Prince's frequent Journies to the Army, had given Allarm to the Count *d'Avaux* and the Marquis *d'Albyville*, Ambassadors of *England* and *France* at the *Hague*, especially when there was an Interview between the Prince and the Marquis *de Castanaga*, Governor of the *Spanish Netherlands* on the Frontiers, wherein Matters were concerted for the Defence of those Provinces, in the Prince's Absence. The Princes's Friends gave out that it was about some Affairs depending between his Highness and the Count *de Solre*, concerning certain Lands in the Dependency of *Candè*, *France* having undertaken the Protection of that Count; whereas the true Reason of that Interview, and all the Prince's extraordinary Motions at that time was, his Glorious Design to save *Europe* from the Slavery that threatned her. This was in *August*, and though the Marquis *de Albyville* went to *London* about that time, so secret were the Prince's Councils, that K. *James* had no manner of Notice of His Highness's Intentions; to disguise which, he happily made use of the Rupture between *France* and the Empire, as a Colour for his Military Preparations. And the whole Expedition was manag'd

with ſo much Secrecy and Caution, as fully confirm'd the Character which Common Juſtice extorted from the Mouth of his Enemy the *French* King, who ſaid of him, that he was *Le Meilleur Homme le Cabinet en l' Europe. The Greateſt Man of Council in* Europe.

The Prince having detach'd from his and the Elector of *Brandenburg*'s Camp what Forces he thought neceſſary for his Expedition, the King of *Sweden* moſt generouſly offer'd to ſupply the *Dutch* with an equal Number of Troops, and did it, or the States would have been fearful of venturing ſuch an Army Abroad, when ſo formidable an Enemy threatned them at Home. At the ſame time that Care was taken to procure a ſufficient Number of Land-Forces, Orders were ſent to the ſeveral Cities of *Holland* to have ſo many Ships of War and ſo many Tranſports in readineſs by ſuch a Day, which was executed with all poſſible Chearfulneſs and Expedition. There was not a Man in *Holland* (Papiſts only excepted) who was heard to murmur at the Charge and Hazard of this Enterprize, Men, Women and Children lifted up their Prayers to Heaven for the Succeſs of his Highneſs and the Deliverance of *England*. What are the Returns we are now making them for their good Wiſhes and Aſſiſtance? And could any one have then imagin'd, that in little more than twenty Years the ſame People ſhould be as fond of *France* as they were then of *Holland*.

I am

I am asham'd to make these Reflections on our Dear Country, so near the Brink of Ruin, so happily deliver'd and so ungrateful to their Deliverers. Both the Prince and States kept up the Forms that are usual between Nations and Kingdoms not in War, and King *James* continu'd to write Letters of Civility, till near the time of the Expedition, and the King's States-men complain'd, that the Secret of a Business which wholly depended on the Secret, was not communicated to them, though it would have shewn the Court at the *Hague* to be as ill Politicians as those at *Whitehal*, to give them an opportunity to obstruct the Design, by calling in *French* Forces, which were offer'd, and had been accepted, if the *English* Ministers had not thought 40000 for so many the King had in Arms in his three Kingdoms, were not enough to beat 14000.

While these Transactions were carry'd in *Holland*, the Lords and Gentlemen in *England* had constant Advice of the Progress of the Preparations, and Matters were concerted for their appearing in Arms in *England*, upon the Prince's landing. In *July* one *Joseph Plight* brought over near fourscore Letters to as many of the Prime Nobility and Gentry, and carry'd back Answers with great Dispatch and Safety. The Government being then lull'd asleep with the Imagination of their future Security in the pretended Prince of *Wales*, and every one that came from

Hol-

Holland was too welcome to need fear ſo ſtrict an Examination as the Diſpoſition of the two Courts required.

It was *September* before King *James* had any certain Notice from *France*, that the State's Preparations were intended againſt him, and the fear of the impending Storm, threw his Court into a Confuſion, that is not to be expreſs'd. In all this Affair, the Church of *England* Party, eſpecially the Clergy, ſhow'd a warmth worthy of the Truth and Purity of their Religion. The chief Divines of *London* preach'd continually againſt Popery and Dr. *Sherlock* was particularly remarkable for exciting his Auditory in one of his Sermons to exert themſelves in the Defence of their Holy Faith and Civil Liberties, which he did in Terms that were much ſtronger than Seditious, and ſo would have been adjudg'd, had King *James* ſucceeded as well as the Prince did.

The firſt Oppoſition from the Layety was in the Army, and by Men of the higheſt Church Principles, as Lieutenant Collonel *Beaumont*, Unkle to Sir *George Beaumont*, Collonel *Patſon*, and the Officers of the Duke of *Berwick*'s Regiment at *Portſmouth*, who for refuſing to admit *Iriſhmen* into the Regiment they had rais'd at their own Coſts, during *Monmouth*'s Rebellion, were ſent for up by a Guard to be try'd by a Court Martial, and had been hang'd, if the News of the intended Deſcent had not been told them by the

the *French* Ambaſſador the very Morning they were to have been try'd, ſo they were only caſhier'd. The Reſolutions of theſe Officers one would think ſhould have ſhewn King *James* that he muſt not depend on a Proteſtant Army to bring in Popery, and have enclin'd him to have taken juſt Meaſures, to have call'd a Free Parliament, and have ſav'd his Crown; but his Bigotry was always triumphant, and it is reported, that he ſhould before this, tell Father *Petre*, *He had rather Reign but one Year to an End, and Die a Martyr with the Converſion of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland, *to the* Roman *Faith, than Reign Thirty Years proſperouſly, and at his Death leave them in Hereſy as he found them.*

And thus giving himſelf up blindly to the Wicked and Pernicious Councils of his Queen and her Prieſts, every Step he took, tended to his and their Deſtruction. So raſh and ſo inconſtant were all his Proceedings. The 20th of *September*, about 14 Days after he receiv'd the firſt certain Advice of the Prince's Preparations for *England*, he publiſh'd a Declaration, *That he would Call a Parliament to ſettle Liberty of Conſcience, and that only the Penalties of the Acts of Uniformity ſhould be repeal'd*; which was done to cajole the Church Party, who were too much ſower'd to be ſatisfi'd with Words, and were reſolv'd to ſtand heartily by the Prince of *Orange*, to procure a thorough Settlement of the Nation in Church and State, on the

Foot

Foot of the Old Foundation. In this Fright, the Church-Men who had been turn'd out of the Commission of the Peace, were restor'd, and on the 24th of *September*, the following Letter was sent to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*.

MY LORD,

THE King thinking it requisite to speak with your Grace, and several others of the Bishops, who are within a convenient distance of this Place; his Majesty commands me to acquaint you, That he would have you attend him upon Friday next, at Ten in the Morning.

Whitehal, Sept. 24, 1688. My LORD,

I am your most Faithful, &c.

SUNDERLAND.

Letters to the same Purpose, and of the same Date (or about that Time) were sent to the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, *Ely*, *Chichester*, *Rochester*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Peterborough* and *Bristol*, who all but *London* and *Bristol*, came to Town, and all but the Arch-Bishop, waited on the King at the Time appointed, when little or nothing passing between His Majesty and them, beyond general Expressions of his Favour and their Duty, the Bishops intreated the Arch-Bishop to procure them a second and more particular Audience, wherein they

they might all deliver their Plain and Sincere Sense of things, as they saw the dangerous Condition of the Church and State then requir'd from them. The Arch-Bishop obtain'd of the King, that they should be admitted to a full Liberty of Speech, on the *Tuesday* after, which I hint, because that Admission was afterwards put off to *Wednesday*, that the King might have an Opportunity to Summon several Eminent Citizens to Council the Evening before, to whom he declar'd publickly, his Purpose to restore the City Charter; His Majesty having perhaps some Private Intimation, that the Bishops from the beginning of their Consultations, had fix'd upon that to be one of their Principal Petitions. The Bishops spent all *Monday* at *Lambeth*, in preparing their Humble Advice, and on *Wednesday* the third of *October*, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Ely*, *Chichester*, *Rochester*, *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Peterborough*, waited on the King, to whom the Arch-Bishop spoke in their behalf, and desir'd *Leave to suggest to his Majesty, such Advices as they thought proper at that Season*; which being granted, the Arch-Bishop propos'd as follows, *That the King would put the Government of the several Counties, into Qualify'd Hands. To annul the Ecclesiastical Commission Court, and Erect no other such. Not to dispense with any Unqualify'd Person in Office in Church or State. To set aside all Licences for* Papists *to teach Schools. To desist from the Exercise of the Dispensing Power, and leave that Matter to*

be

to be settled in Parliament. To inhibit the Foreign Bishops from Invading the Jurisdiction of the Bishops of this Church. To fill the Vacant Bishopricks in England *and* Ireland. *To Supersede the* Quo Warranto's. *To Call a Parliament. To permit the Bishops to perswade his Majesty to return to the Communion of the Church of* England. These Advices were offer'd says the Bishop of *Rochester* in his Letter to the Earl of *Dorset*, "When the "King thought of nothing less than "Victory, when in all Humane Probabi-"lity, he was the strongest both by Sea "and Land; when, as yet, there was "no appearance of such a prodigious "Alienation of his Subjects Affections; "when at least his Army was thought "to be still firm to him; when the very "Winds and Seas seem'd hitherto as much "on his side, as they all afterwards turn'd "against him." This is sure, that the Advice those Prelates gave, was Faithful and Reasonable, and if the King had follow'd it, He might have kept his Crown to his Death. But was not this what Sir *Thomas Powis* said at the Bishop's Tryal, to tell the King *He had acted illegally*; and was not that, as the same Learned and Eloquent Knight assim'd then, *Malitious and Seditious*, of which we have already taken some Notice, and of the Fury the *Papists* were in against those Reverend Fathers, for giving this wholsome Council. One of their Writers having set the Prince of *Orange*'s Declaration, and the Bishops Ten Proposals on the same Foot,

and

and that they were so; the Bishop of *Rochester* who was one of them, values himself upon it, in the above-mention'd Letter, in which he says, One thing further I must observe, as very remarkable in this Affair, *That if the exact Time of this our Address to King* James at Whitehal, *shall be compar'd with the Day of the Prince of* Orange, *his present Majesty setting forth his first Declaration in* Holland, *they will be found to bear very near the same Date. For our Address here was form'd at* Lambeth, *on* Monday October 1. *and should have been deliver'd on* Tuesday *the Second, and was actually presented on* Wednesday *the Third, and the Declaration was Sign'd there on the Tenth of* October; *which considering the Two Stiles, makes little or no difference. And if I might presume to compare small things with great in the Matter of them, as well as in the Date, I would venture to say, that most of the very same Grievances, which his Highness insisted on in his Declaration, except one or two that were too high for a Subject to meddle with, were so early represented by us, as Things necessary to be speedily redress'd.* The King calls the Prince of *Orange*'s Declaration, a *Reasonable Paper.* The Bishop is Proud that their *Proposals* is so like it. Where now is the *Unlimited Unconditional Obedience*, and the *Loyalty without Reserve?* Is it not all Grimace, and the Language of Safety and Wantonness. In Times of Peril, when those that made the Clamour about it lately, were touch'd themselves, we find Petitions and Addresses of another Nature, such as are put on the

level

level with Treason; and had not Providence blest the Cause of King *William* for our Deliverance, the Price had been much same as well as the Guilt. We see what were the Sentiments and Practices of the *Church* in K. *James*'s Reign, and at his Abdication: If any one can think those Men in earnest, that Write, and Preach otherwise now, they must have as little Understanding as the others have Honesty, or they wou'd perceive 'tis an Old Cheat, which can bubble none but Fools and Bigots.

Captain *Langham*, who belong'd to one of the *English* Regiments in *Holland*, was about that time seiz'd coming from thence on Suspicion, and in his Portmanteau was found a Bundle of the Prince's Declarations, the first that were brought over. When the King heard that Passage in it, *That the Prince was most earnestly invited hither, by divers Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, and by many Gentlemen and others of all Ranks*, &c. He seem'd in a great Surprize and Passion, and immediately sent for the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *London*, *Peterborough* and *Rochester*, who were nearest at hand to attend him, fixing a *Short Day* for that purpose; *On which he oblig'd them to present him under their Hands a Writing, Signifying their Abhorrence of the Pr. of* Orange's *Invasion*. Those Bishops attended, and great Throngs were at Court, expecting the Issue of that Conference; both the Friends and Enemies of the Church, being equally impatient to know

know what they would do in that difficult Moment. The King himself told them, *He thought his good Success exceedingly depended upon their ready Compliance with his Command of Abhorring*; and as soon as he saw them, he call'd with great Earnestness *for the Paper*, which he intended should be incerted in a Proclamation against the Prince of *Orange*'s *Declaration*. The Bishops with all Submission, desir'd to be excus'd from writing any thing of that Nature, and from making a particular Defence to a General Accusation, lest they should give the First Precedent of that kind against the *Privilege of Peers*. Besides, their Profession being to promote Peace, they thought it belong'd not to them to Declare War; especially against a Prince so nearly Ally'd to the Crown. But the King insisted on it, argu'd and expostulated with them, *His Speech* being more than ordinary vehement, and Expressions more transported than ever. The Bishops persisted in their Refusal of the *Abhorrence*, and one of the Chief of the Popish Party at Court, was so enrag'd, that in a Heat, *He advis'd to have 'em all Imprison'd, and the Truth extorted from them by Violence*. The King durst not at so Critical a Juncture, make that Experiment of Arbitrary Power, so he flung from them with Indignation. In the foregoing Pages, mention has been made of the Petition Sign'd by their Lordships, and the Temporal Peers. When it was drawn up, the Marquiss of *Hallifax*, the

Earl of *Oxford*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, and the Earl of *Carberry*, would have had a Clauſe incerted, that the Peers who had joyn'd the Prince, might Sit in the *Free Parliament*, for which they Petition'd, but the other Lords thought the Clauſe needleſs.

If we were to judge only by the Characters of the Lords and Gentlemen that came over with the King, and thoſe that joyn'd him, we ſhall ſee that the *Revolution*, which was brought about by the moſt Glorious and Neceſſary *Reſiſtance*, that ever Nation made againſt Arbitrary Power, was the Work of the Church of *England*. We ſhall ſee that the Church was ſo far from being aſham'd of it, that She Glory'd in it, in the Declaration of Her *Moſt Eminent Sons* in all Parts of this Kingdom, when they had taken Arms for the Prince of *Orange*, before King *James* had left us. We ſhall ſee by the Speeches and Writings of the beſt Church-Men, that they would not loſe the Honour of effecting what ſome of them pretend now to abhor, at leaſt the Principles by which it was effected. No Man can doubt the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*'s Affection to the Church, and the Soundneſs of his Doctrine ever ſince the *Reſtauration*. The Services he did the Crown, in ſeveral Hiſtories, is too Notorious to need any expatiating upon. And how he values himſelf on the Share he had in the Abdicating King *James*, will be ſeen by theſe two or three Paragraphs of the Letter

ter to my Lord *Dorset*, I have already made uſe of. *If your Lordſhips Leiſure would permit me to look back further, and to recount what was written each Day, and ſuffer'd by the Members of the Church of* England *in General, during that Reign, 'twere eaſie to recollect ſo many Memorable Inſtances of unſhaken Truth and Courage in the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy and Commonalty of our Country Men, in maintaining our Religion againſt* Rome, *and our Laws againſt Unlimited Power, as might well furniſh ſufficient Materials for an ample Relation. I know it was formerly a Popular Objection of divers miſguided Diſſenters from the Church of* England, *That our Principles were too Monarchial,* &c *We carried the Doctrine of Obedience farther than might be conſiſtent with the Safety of a Proteſtant Church, or the Privileges of a Free People. But it is now hop'd, that the ſtrongeſt Argument of all others, which is Experience from undoubted Matter of Fact, has put this Objection for ever out of Countenance; ſince it is undeniable, that during the whole Time, when our Civil and Spiritual Liberties were in ſuch Danger, the greateſt and moſt conſiderable Stop that was here put to the Arts of* Rome, *and Intrigues of* France, *was by the Steady Reſolution of the True Sons of the Church of* England. Pray mind, here's a ſtop put to the Intrigues of *France*, as well as to the Arts of *Rome*, by the True Sons of the Church. And the True Sons of the Church, will always put a ſtop to thoſe Intrigues. The Falſe deluded unthinking Sons always did, and always will promote thoſe In-

trigues, and were equally Friends to *France* and *Rome*, not out of Inclination either to the one or the other, but becauſe they could never maintain themſelves in the Stations they Uſurp'd, but by ſiding both with *Rome* and *France*. And this Biſhop has moſt juſtly given a Mark of a *True Son of the Church*, by which he was then, and will be always known, his being an Enemy to *French* Intrigues, and *Roman* Arts. Let that ſtill be the Mark, and let thoſe that wear it have their Deſert, which is the only way to make this Church and Nation Great and Happy. I ſhall not repeat all the Biſhop ſays on this pleaſing Subject, for nothing can be more Pleaſant than to ſee what a Hand our Church had in ſaving the State. I ſhall conclude with the Words of that Prelate, *'Twill be ſufficient to affirm once for all, that the main Body of thoſe who made ſo brave a Stand, were all of the Church of* England, *and the Principles on which they ſtood, were all Church of* England *Principles*. And to ſhew further what theſe Biſhops were in the King's Opinion, we need only remember a ſaying of his, when he heard that the City of *London*, the Counties of *York* and *Kent* deſign'd to Addreſs him for ſome Accommodation with the Prince, who refer'd all to that Free Parliament, the Prelates Petition'd for, which was, *That he ſhould look upon all thoſe as Enemies, that ſhould pretend to adviſe him to Treat with the Invader of his Kingdom*. The Share Foreign Princes had in the *Revolution*, has been

been before hinted. All that were Confederates in the future War againſt *France*, were acquainted with the Deſign and Aſſiſting to it, by the Troops they lent to the Prince, or to the *Dutch*, to ſupply the Place of ſuch as he had from them. *Don Pedro de Ronquillo*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, deliver'd out the Prince's Declarations himſelf, and it was pleaſant afterwards to obſerve the miſtaken Zeal of the Populace, who fell upon that Miniſter's Houſe for being a *Papiſt*, thinking he had been an Enemy to the Cauſe which he had done what he could to advance. They plunder'd it as they did the Popiſh Chappels, but ample Satisfaction was given him, after the Kingdom was ſettled under King *William* and Queen *Mary*. The Company in which the Pr. of *Orange* came to *England*, is an evident Proof of the good Diſpoſition of the Orthodox Part of this Kingdom, to reſiſt King *James*, if he had diſputed the Deliverance he intended us.

The Earl of *Macclesfield* withdrew himſelf into *Holland*, while the Duke of *Monmouth* was preparing for his Unfortunate Expedition.

The Reverend Doctor *Burnet*, who had drawn upon him the Hatred of the *Romiſh Faction*, for his Hiſtory of the *Reformation*, was by Court Practices procur'd to be accus'd of High Treaſon in *Scotland*, which the Laws of *England* would not have admitted. Of the hand that Learned Divine, now Lord Biſhop of *Salisbury*, had

in this Undertaking, his Lordſhip will himſelf leave large Memoirs in that excellent Hiſtory he has been long writing *Of his own Times*; no Body being better qualify'd to do it than himſelf, having been a main Actor in the great Affairs of them, tho' it was long before the *Friends to the Revolution*, could engage him in that Deſign, and not till he ſaw the whole Conſtitution of *England* in Church and State ſubverted.

Col. *Sydney* went firſt over to *Holland*, under pretence of going to the *Spaw*, and maintain'd a conſtant Correſpondence with the Heads of the Party in *England*, who were to act here as was concerted abroad, among whom, the moſt Eminent were the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Devonſhire*, the Marquiſs of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Danby*, *Thomas Wharton*, Eſq; *John Hampden*, Eſq; *Henry Powle*, Eſq; *&c.* Nor muſt we forget the Aldermen and Citizens of *London*, who were as deep in the Buſineſs as any.

The Earl of *Shrewsbury* eſpous'd this Quarrel with a diſtinguiſhed Zeal, as well with reſpect to the Hazard, as to the Expence, as has been before mention'd.

The Lord *Mordaunt*, now Earl of *Peterborough*, is ſaid to have undertaken that Part of the Affair which concern'd the City, and to have come privately from *Holland* to *England* on purpoſe, being Lodg'd at Mr. *Houblons*, in *Wincheſter-Street*, in *London*, where were held ſeveral Conferences with the Chief Citizens, relating

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to the Concern they were to have in it, which was not inconsiderable. I my self heard one of them, an Alderman, expreſs in *July* great hopes of the Deliverance this Nation might expect before the next *Lord-Mayor*'s Day, which he thought wou'd have been the Day of his own Cavalcade, and ſeem'd very cheerful on the expectation of a Happy Turn about that time; which he was the more free in, becauſe I was not then of Years to do any Good or Miſchief as he imagin'd; but therein was out in his Politicks, as much as he was right in his Propheſy.

The Earl of *Wiltſhire*, now Duke of *Bolton*, was one of the firſt that went to the *Hague*, on the Glorious Errand of Liberty, and he was accompany'd by the Lord *Pawlet* his Brother, while their Father, the Old Marquiſs of *Wincheſter*, was forc'd, like *Brutus*, to act the part of Lunacy, which he could indeed do the better, for that with all his good Senſe, he was the moſt extravagant Humouriſt in *Britain*.

The Earl of *Argyle*, the Father of the preſent Duke, had been Impriſon'd by King *James*, on Suſpicion; but for want of Proof againſt him, diſcharg'd; after his Unfortunate Father loſt his Head, as his Grandfather had done before. This Noble Family having not till very lately, had one Friend in it to the *Divine Indefeaſible Right*, ſince Popery was expell'd theſe Kingdoms.

The Lord *Eland*, Son to the Marquiſs of *Hallifax*, was a Voluntary Hoſtage to

the Prince of *Orange*, for his Fathers Sincerity in the Matter: As was also The Lord *Dunblaine*, now Marquiss of *Carmarthen*, whose Father the Duke of *Leeds*, had as great share in it, as in the the Marriage of Her Royal Highness the Prince of *Orange*, which so happily entitul'd her Husband the Prince, to a Right to protect us, and procure Redress for our Grievances.

Mr. *Herbert*, afterwards Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury*, shew'd himself on this Occasion, worthy the Honours of his Ancestors, purchas'd in the Defence of the Liberties of their Country.

Admiral *Herbert*, and his Brother Col. *Herbert*, the former now Earl of *Torrington*, made an Attonement by their Retreat to the *Hague*; and their Return with the Prince, for the Mischiefs done by their Brother Judge *Herbert*, who Liv'd and Dy'd in Exile with King *James*, having profited little by the Example of their Father Sir *Edward Herbert*, who had before spent his Life in Banishment with the same Prince, when Duke of *York*.

Mr. *Russel*, the present Earl of *Orford*.

Mr. *Harbord*, afterwards a Privy Counsellor, and Ambassador to *Turkey*.

Mr. *Lister*, of a very good Church-Family.

Col. *Cutts*, Col. *Talmash*, Brother to the Earl of *Dysert*, the Famous Soldier who fell at *Cameret-Bay*. Sir *Rowland Gwyn*, who had been sometime at the *Hague*, and having

ving ſince been a Witneſs of the *Revolution*, and the Effects of it, Lives now at *Hanover*. Sir *Robert Peyton*, and many others Gentlemen of the moſt Orthodox Principles in Church and State, attended his Highneſs in this Expedition which was carry'd on by Men of that Character, who call'd in very few others to their Aſſiſtance; tho' we muſt not forget that Mr. *Andrew Fletcher* of *Saltoune*, who ſo warmly oppos'd the Union of *England* and *Scotland*, came with the Prince; as did Major *Manly*, Father of a Son who has ſo often *Addreſt* againſt that Spirit of Liberty, which then exerted it ſelf in himſelf too, as well as the reſt of the Nation. I might add many more Names of the Prince's Companions, Perſons of Diſtinction and Merit, but I chuſe to mention ſuch only as have ſome relation to the Subject of this Treatiſe, which is intended to ſhew how far different the Principles and Practices of ſome Men are, what a degeneracy they are fallen into; what a Farce they have ſince acted, in renouncing thoſe Principles, and ſtill aſſerting the Effect of them, *The Hanover Succeſſion*; and what little dependance *France* can make on Friends in *England*, ſince whenever Property or Religion is effected, the ſame Spirit will again revive, however it may ſink when there's no need of it, which is our preſent Caſe. I do not pretend to give an exact Hiſtory of that Revolution, but only to touch upon thoſe Facts that have Reſpect to the Aſſertion I maintain,

That

That we owe it to those Men that now Condemn it, and to those Doctrines that now make it Rebellion and Damnation. I shall only observe *en passant*, that the only Resistance made at Sea to it, was by Admiral *Aylmer*, than Captain of the *Swallow Frigot*, who took Coll. *Columbine*, and 400 Men in a *Dutch* Ship, part of the Prince's Fleet; and how that Admiral has been since serv'd for his Revolution Principles, is no part of a *Secret History*. My Lord *Dartmouth* at the same time, lay with a Fleet of Thirty Seven Men of War, to intercept the *Dutch*; and some have done his Lordship the Honour, to suppose he was not so True as he us'd to be to King *James*, but for my part, I am not of their Opinion, and do verily believe, if that Lord had thought his Thirty Seven Men of War could have Beat the Prince of *Orange*'s Fifty One, against the Wills of his own Seamen, he would have been as Faithful to King *James* before, as after the *Revolution*. The only *English* Action of that Lord's Life, at least that I have heard of, was his refusing to Transport King *James*'s Wife, and Her pretended Son to *France*, which if true, was as much Resistance as if he had Fought at the Head of a Regiment against him. The King's Power being boundless, and the Subjects Obedience *without Reserve*, as may be prov'd by a great Number of Addresses, Printed two or three Years since. It must be own'd, no Body ventur'd to Print any such thing till the *Revolution*

volution was forgotten. I am oblig'd to do Juſtice to the Clergy as well as Laity, that came over with the Prince, I mean the Church of *England* Clergy, there being ſeveral who were Perſonally engag'd in that Enterprize; and both in the Camp and Fleet, Prayers were always read according to the *Rubrick* of the Church of *England*, whoſe Service even in *Holland*, had the Preference of the *French*. For while His Highneſs lay at *Helvoetſluys*, for a Wind, after the Storm he had been in, it was order'd that the *Engliſh* Prayers ſhould begin at Ten, the *French* at Eleven a Clock in the Morning, tho' there were among the Auxiliaries a much greater Number of *Calviniſts* than of *Church-Men*. The Prince himſelf, and all the Lords of his Court, always aſſiſting at the Prayers of our Church, which he came to *Deliver*, as was at that time ſaid, and a Year or two afterwards, *To Deſtroy*. How very different was the Behaviour of ſome of our Divines, from that Honeſt One, who got upon the Poup of the *Golden Sun*, a Ship in the Prince's Fleet, when She came near the Shoar in *Torbay*, and Flouriſhing his Bible in his Hand, which was his Spiritual Weapon, cry'd out, *For the Prince, and the Proteſtant Religion*, before the People could tell whether they were Friends or Enemies. And this being the firſt Declaration that was made to them of that kind, by a Miniſter of the Church of *England*, is remarkable enough to deſerve remembrance by ſuch as would not let her loſe

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the leaſt Part of the Glory She then acquir'd, by making that *Bold Stand* in the Defence of Her own, and our Civil Liberties. The Bells Ringing all along the Shoar as the Fleet Coaſted it, was a Promiſe of Succeſs to the Fleet and Army. It being the Fifth of *November*, His Highneſs order'd the *Engliſh* and *Scots* Regiments to Land firſt, himſelf follow'd about Noon, and took his Quarters at a Fiſhermans Houſe in *Torbay*, ordering a Camp to be mark'd out on the Hill for his Army, which conſiſted of Twenty Six Regiments, having

1000 *Inferior Officers*,
78 *Field Officers*,
15400 *Soldiers, Horſe and Foot.*

Above 2000 more than the Liſt publiſh'd by King *James*'s Order made them. The Prince ſtay'd a Night or two at the Fiſhermans, his Courtiers taking up with the Hutts about it. Among the Foreigners, were the Mareſchal *De Schomberg*, the Dukes of *Schomberg* and *Leinſter*, his two Sons then Young, by the Names of Count *Charles* and Count *Maynard*; the late Earls of *Portland* and *Rochfort*, the Earl of *Granham*, the Earl of *Albemarle*, the Three laſt Velt-Mareſchals of *Holland*, Count *Naſſau*, the Earl of *Athlone*, the Lord *Auverquerque*, nor muſt we forget the Famous Generals *Fagel* and *Hompeſch*, whoſe Bravery in the late *French* War, have made their Names Immortal.

I can-

I cannot think these Particulars will be disagreeable to the *Reader*, because the Actions of these Great Men since, do an Honour to that Cause in which they so generously engag'd. When his Highness first Landed, People were afraid to shew their Joy and good Wishes, *Monmouth's* Fate in the *West*, having frighted them from any *Second Struggle for Liberty*. They were Ignorant of the Engagements of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Chief Gentlemen of *England* to assist him; and *Monmouth* met with more Encouragement than the Prince did, Listing more in one Day, than His Highness did in Ten. The Men of *Devonshire* telling the Prince's Officers, *They were enough of themselves to do the Business, and wanted no more.* The Prince brought Arms sufficient for as many more as he had with him, but having a Regular Army, and not standing in so much need of Assistance as the Duke of *Monmouth*, he was not hasty in giving out Commissions to raise Regiments, which he should be oblig'd in Honour, to see Provision made for. The first he gave, were to the Lord Visc. *Mordaunt*, Sir *John Guise*, and Sir *Robt. Peyton*, who being Curious in their Men, did not fill their Regiments in that time *Monmouth* compleated his whole Army. The first Place the Prince of *Orange's* Declaration was publickly read at, was *Newton-Abbot* Market-Town, near *Exeter*. And the first Man who read it was a Minister, on the same Day that the Prince march'd thither,

thither, and took up his Quarters at Sir *William Courtneys*, where he was Nobly Entertain'd, and ſtaid two Nights. From thence he went to *Chudleigh*, and thence on the Eighth of *November*, to *Exeter*; where he made a very Splendid Entry, which was mightily magnify'd at *London*; and a Paper of it came out with an Account of the Form and Manner of it, adding ſuch a Terrible Deſcription of his *Finland* and *Swiſs* Guards, as made a ſtrong Impreſſion on the Vulgar, who lookt on King *James*'s Liſt of his Forces, tho' not much ſhort of the Truth, as a Fable to leſſen his Strength. The Biſhop of *Exeter* as ſoon as he heard of the Prince's Landing, Poſted to Court, to ſhew King *James* how worthy his Loyalty was of the Chair of *York*, which was given him; tho' he afterwards went as far as the reſt, in Reſiſting that King, by Addreſſes to the Prince of *Orange*, and Declarations for him; as alſo in Swearing to him after he was King. The Dean in a Fright left *Exeter* too, but return'd before the Prince was gone from his Houſe, which he took for his Lodgings. It muſt be own'd, the Terrors that were on the Minds of the Clergy of this Cathedral, ſhew'd themſelves on the Arrival of the Prince, who having caus'd *Te Deum* to be Sung on that Occaſion, after the Collects were ended, the Reverend Dr. *Burnet* read his *Declaration*, at the beginning of which, thoſe Clergy-Men crowded out of their Seats and the Church, the People remain-

remaining; and when at the end of the Declaration, the Doctor cry'd, *God save the Prince of* Orange, they ſhouted for Joy. It was however at a Cathedral that this Slur was put upon His Highneſs, the other Clergy almoſt every where, ſhewing their Aſſent to his Undertaking, by their Chearful Reception of his Followers, and opening the Church-Doors to Ring the Bells in the Places through which he paſt. The Clergy of *Exeter* were order'd by Dr. *Burnet*, in the Prince's Name, not to Pray for the Pretended Prince of *Wales*: But theſe Divines, who had not the Gifts of the Propheſy or Foreſight, and thought the reſt of the Nation as Timerous as themſelves, were very unwilling to comply with this Order; and one of them perſiſted in reading that Prayer, at which Two of the Lords, who came over with the Prince, ſtood up, and put on their Hats in Abhorrence of it, kneeling down at all the other Collects. The Prince was three Days at *Exeter*, before he was joyn'd by any of the Nobility or Gentry who had Invited him over, or were in his Intereſt. The Mayor and Aldermen of the City were very cold, and only one *Futhil*, and another of the Aldermen declar'd for him. All this Shineſs aroſe from the Bloody Executions they had been Witneſſes of in King *James*'s Reign. At laſt Sir *Edward Seymour*, Sir *William Portman*, Sir *Francis Wan*, Col. *Palmer*, and the reſt of the Weſt Country Gentlemen came in, all Perſons of the moſt

most *Staunch* Character. As soon as Sir *Edward Seymour* came to *Exeter*, he sent for Dr. *Burnet*, and askt him, *Why they were a Rope of Sand, why they had not an Association?* Then it was drawn up, and laid on a Table in the Prince's Lodgings, where the Lords and Gentlemen of his Court Sign'd it, it was as follows.

WE whose Names are hereunto Subscrib'd, who have now joyn'd with the Prince of Orange, *for the Defence of the Protestant Religion, and for the maintaining the Ancient Government, and the Laws and Liberties of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland, *do engage to Almighty God, to his Highness the Prince of* Orange, *and to ove another, to stick firm to this Cause, in the Defence of it, and never to depart from it, until our Religion, Laws and Liberties are so far secured to us in a Free Parliament, that we shall be no more in Danger of falling under Popery and Slavery. And whereas we are engag'd in this Common Cause, under the Protection of the Prince of* Orange, *by which Case his Person might be expos'd to Danger, and to the Cursed Attempts of* Papists, *and other Bloody Men, We do therefore Solemnly engage to God, and one another, That if any such Attempt be made upon him, we will pursue not only those that make it, but all their Adherence, and all that we find in Arms against us, with the utmost Severity of a Just Revenge to their Ruin and Destruction. And that the Execution of any such Attempt (which God of his infinite Mercy forbid) shall not divert us from prosecuting this Cause, which we do now under-*

undertake, but that it shall engage me to carry it on with all the Vigour that so Barbarous an Action shall deserve.

This proves what rare Observers of the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience*, those Men are who have of late cry'd it up so much, and made this Nation once more a Jest to all the World for professing a Thing so much against their Practice.

While the Prince was in this City there came to him from *Oxford* a Head of a College, who invited him thither in the Name of that University, and his Highness design'd to go to that City, had not King *James*'s flight from *London*, call'd him thither, when he was got as near *Oxford* as *Abington*. However the above-mention'd Association was carry'd to the University and sign'd by the Heads of the Houses and others, with Expressions of the greatest Zeal in this *Resisting* Cause, that their Hearts went with their Hands.

To *Exeter* came the Lord *Colchester*, now Earl *Rivers*, Lieutenant to the Lord *Dover*'s Troop of Guards; and with him the present Earl of *Wharton*, Collonel *Godfrey* and *John Hoy* Esq; These Lords and Gentlemen were follow'd by the Earl of *Abington*, Captain *Clarges* and others. The present Earl of *Clarendon* was the first Officer of Note that deserted King *James*'s Army, with his own Regiment he attempted to carry off the Royal Regiment of Horse, and the Duke of St. *Al-*

Ivers Regiment of Dragoons, Commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel *Langston*, who went with him; but several Officers and Troopers of the Regiment of Horse would not go to *Exeter*, which piece of Loyalty was highly exaggerated in the State Papers.

The Lord *Lovelace* was the first who appear'd at the Head of a Party of Horse for the Prince, which he did in five or six Days after his Highness landed, but the Militia seiz'd him at *Cirencester*, after a vigorous Defence, in which a Major, Captain and Lieutenant were kill'd. This, I think, is a sort of Resistance, that shews what King *James* must have expected, had he left the Dispute to Arms, as well as that at *Wincaunton*, where forty Men were kill'd on both sides; yet because his Majesty was so careful of himself, that he chose rather to fly than fight, some of our modern Arguers prove from this very Revolution, that there was no Resistance ever preach'd up by the Church's true Sons.

About ten Days after the Prince landed, the late Earl of *Warrington* assembled fifty Horse and march'd to *Manchester*, then to *Boden Down*, where he encreas'd to 150, and so kept encreasing till he was too strong for all Opposers in those Parts, though the Lords *Aston* and *Molineux*, two Papists were very Zealous for King *James*'s Interest, and endeavour'd to defend *Chester*. At *Nottingham*, the Earl of *Devonshire*, the Earl of *Stamford*, the Earl of

Danby, Sir Scroop How, now Lord How, Sir William Russel, and the Northern Association was form'd, which was honour'd with the Presence of the Bishop of London, and even of her Present Majesty Queen Anne. In that Association they say, among other things, "We being made sadly sensible of the Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, "that is, by the Influence of Jesuitical "Councils coming upon us, do unanimously declare, That not being willing to deliver our Posterity over to "such a Condition of Popery and Slavery, "as the aforesaid Illegalities do inevitably threaten, We will, to the utmost "of our Power, oppose the same, by "joining with the Prince of Orange, &c. "And herein we hope all good Protestants will, with their Lives and Fortunes, be assistant to us, and not be "Bug-bear'd with the opprobrious Terms "of Rebels, by which they would fright us "to become perfect Slaves to their Tyrannical Insolencies and Usurpations, "for we assure our selves, that no Rational and Unbyass'd Person will judge "it Rebellion to defend our Laws and Religion, which all our Princes have "sworn at their Coronation; which Oath "how well it hath been observ'd of late, "we desire a Free Parliament may have "the Consideration of. We own it Rebellion to resist a King that Governs by Law, but he was always accounted "a Tyrant that made his Will his Law,

"and to resist such a one, we justly e-
"steem no Rebellion, but a necessary De-
"fence, *&c.*

These were the Sentiments of those Churchmen and Patriots. These were the Sentiments of the Duke of *Leeds*, the Bishop of *London*, and a great number of Lords and Gentlemen, who had their Swords by their sides to defend them, and make good what they asserted of the Lawfulness of defence against Tyranny. What is the meaning then that now Four and twenty Years after, the Error should be perceiv'd and *Passive Obedience* and *Non Resistance* be declar'd to be the Doctrine of the Church. Why should one ask, what is the meaning? The effect it has produc'd fully answers the Question, and renders all Reasoning on this subject equally absurd and ridiculous. It is not hop'd to make a Convert by this History, for none can believe that these Gentlemen who address so warmly against Revolution Principles, after they acted so warmly in that Revolution, will not say and do anything, be it ever so contradictory, if they have any Point to carry by it, or that in truth they mean a Word they say.

Before the Prince of *Orange* left *Exeter* he made a Speech to the Noblemen and Gentlemen, who had accompany'd and joyn'd him, to this effect: *That though he knew not all their Persons, yet he had a Catalogue of their Names, and remembred the Character of their Worth and Interest in the Country: That they saw he was come accord-*
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ing to their Invitation and his Promiſes: That his Duty to God oblig'd him to protect the Proteſtant Religion, and his Love to Mankind, their Liberties and Properties: That he expected they that dwelt ſo near the Place of his Landing, would have joyn'd him ſooner, not that it was then too late, nor that he wanted their Military Aſſiſtance ſo much as their Countenance and Preſence. &c. He clos'd it thus, *Therefore,* Gentlemen, Friends and Followers, *we bid you and all your Followers moſt heartily welcome to our Court and Camp. Let the whole World now judge if our Pretenſions are not Juſt, Generous, Sincere and above Price, ſince we might have even a Bridge of Gold to return back; but it is our Principle and our Reſolution rather to die in a good Cauſe, than live in a bad one, well knowing, that Vertue and true Honour is its own Reward, and the Happineſs of Mankind our great and only Deſign.*

All this while the whole Conduct of this Enterprize was in Church Hands; the Diſſenters acting only under Parts. The Lords in the other Counties of *England* were carrying it on vigorouſly, and the Duke of *Norfolk* at the Head of a great Body of Gentry, appear'd and declar'd at *Norwich* for a Free Parliament, and the Protection of the Proteſtant Religion.

The Prince of *Denmark*, the Duke of *Ormond* and Sir *George Hewet* left the King, and went to the Prince at *Sherburn*; as did the Duke of *Grafton*, the Lord *Churchil*, Colonel *Berkley*, and many other Perſons

of Quality, insomuch, that he had a fuller Court than the King his Father-in-law ever had in the Height of his Prosperity.

In a Word, there was hardly a Peer or Person of Distinction in *England*, but either by inviting the Prince of *Orange* over, or by joyning him after he came, or by declaring for him in other Places, or by desiring him to accept of the Administration of the Government, had render'd themselves as much Guilty of Resistance, as if they had fought against King *James* Personally present in his Army.

One would have thought that such a Tryal as this Nation had had of King *James*'s Arbitrary Government, should have made them for ever averse to a Popish King, and to him especially; yet after the Church had done all this for her and our Deliverance, such was the Hatred of some of her Sons to the Dissenters; such the Greediness of others for Employments and Power; such the Prejudice of many, who had been bred up in Notions of the Divine Right of Kings, and the Unalienable, Indefeasible Possession of the Crown; such the Envy of those who had had but a small share of the Glory of this Undertaking, to those that accomplish'd it; such the Natural Inconstancy of our Temper, more various than our Climate, that as soon as this Business was done, and King *James* in *France*, out of spite to our Deliverer, who could not pro-

provide for every Body, a Party immediately deserted that good Cause, and being asham'd to call themselves *Papists*, though they acted for the Popish Interest, in opposing the Protestant, assum'd the Name of *Church*, pretending the Licence of Revolution Principles, and the Moderation of those that profest them to all *English* Protestants, would ruin both that and the State; and when Dr. *Sancroft*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the rest of the Bishops, as has been related in the foregoing Pages, had been so active in bringing the Prince of *Orange* to *London*, they would have sent him home again, rather than see some Men who had preserv'd their Integrity in the worst of Times, and were now about to receive their Reward, share those Employments and Honours which they would have engross'd, and thought none could enjoy but in wrong to them. Therefore as early as the Convention Parliament and the Debate about the *Abdication*, there was a Faction form'd to oppose the advancing the Prince to the Throne he had so well deserv'd by our Deliverance, and to puzzle his Affairs afterwards, when they could not hinder his Advancement. Notwithstanding which Opposition, there were many of the most Zealous Sons of the Church, who were heartily for the Abdication, and continu'd Loyal to King *William*, till Occasion of Disgust was taken, which may easily be, where the Pub-

lick Interest has so little weight against private Profit, as it has with us.

Mr. *Dolben* began the Debate about the Vacancy of the Throne, and it pass'd in the House of Commons, by a great Majority, in the Affirmative. In the Lords it met with more Opposition, and it was observ'd, that Monsieur *Barillon*, the *French* Ambassador, was very busy with them, after King *James* was gone, for which he was order'd to leave the Kingdom in Twenty four Hours, being conducted to *Calais* by Mr. *l'Etang*, the same who afterwards arrested Monsieur *Boufflers* at the Head of the Garison of *Namur*, when it was taken by his late Majesty. King *James* wrote a Letter to the House of Peers, to represent the Injustice of depriving him of the *Throne of his Ancestors*. It was sent them by the Lord *Preston*, who was order'd to attend a Committee of that House, but the Lords not being willing to hinder the Settlement of the Kingdom about so trivial a Matter, never examin'd him. The Earl of *Danby* was in the Chair when the Debate arose about the Vacancy of the Throne in the Lord's House. The Earl of *Nottingham* spoke much for a Regency to which the House inclin'd, and it is thought it would have pass'd, had it not been for the Marquis of *Halifax* and the Earl of *Danby*. The House dividing upon the Question, whether it should be a *King* or a *Regent*, carry'd it for the former by three Voices only

only; being fifty one to forty nine, among the latter were,

Duke of *Ormond*,
Duke of *Southampton*,
Duke of *Grafton*,
Duke of *Beaufort*,
D. of *Northumberland*
Earl of *Kent*,
Earl of *Pembroke*,
Earl of *Clarendon*,
Earl of *Rocester*,
Earl of *Craven*,
Earl of *Westmorland*,
Earl of *Scarsdale*,
Earl of *Chesterfield*,
Earl of *Litchfield*,
Earl of *Yarmouth*,
Earl of *Lindsey*,
Viscount *Weymouth*,
Lord *Coventry*,
Lord *Brook*,
Lord *Leigh*,
Lord *Ferrers*,
Lord *Maynard*,
Lord *Jermyn*,
Lord *Arundel of Trewise*,
Lord *Dartmouth*,
Lord *Griffin*, &c.

The Archbishop of *York*, the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Norwich*, *Ely*, *St. Asaph*, *Bath and Wells*, *Oxford*, *Gloucester* and *Lincoln*. The Earls of *Huntington* and *Mulgrave* did not appear; the Lord *Churchil* was hindred by Sickness; the Archbishop of *Canterbury* would not come to the House, and of all the Bishops, only the present Bishops of *Winchester*, and the Bishop of *London* were for a King. There was something odd in the stating of this Debate; for the first Motion was not to agree to the Common Vote of the Vacancy of the Throne, and yet to suppose it for the present, and come to the Question, *Whether the Throne being vacant, it ought to be fill'd up by a Regent or a King*. The next Thing debated by the Lords was the *Original*

riginal Contract, which a certain Faction have attempted to ridicule ever since *Sacheverel*'s Impeachment. To endeavour to prove the being of it, would take up too much room in a History, which is to relate the Fact, and not repeat the Arguments. The House having debated this Question divided upon it, and it was carry'd in the Affirmative that there was an Original Contract, and that King *James* had broken it, by seven Voices, fifty three against forty six. Then came on the main Question concerning the *Vacancy of the Throne*, which was debated with more Heat than all the rest, and carry'd in the Negative by eleven Voices. The Marquisses of *Hallifax* and *Winchester*, the Earls of *Danby* and *Devonshire*, and thirty six more protested against this Vote. Then a Motion was made, *That if there was no Vacancy, the Crown devolv'd to the next Heirs, and therefore that the Prince and Princess of* Orange *should be declar'd King and Queen*, which was carry'd in the Negative by five Voices; but a Conference being desir'd with the Commons about the Abdication, and several Lords, as the Dukes of *Ormond*, *Southampton*, *Grafton* and *Northumberland* being convinc'd by that and other good Reasons, the Earl of *Danby* made an excellent Speech *for the Vacancy of the Throne by the Abdication of King* James, *and the necessity of supplying it with the Prince and Princess of* Orange; in which he was strenuously seconded by the Marquis of *Hallifax*, who

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immediately put the Question, *Whether their Highnesses the Prince and Princess of* Orange *should be declar'd King and Queen*; which was carry'd in the Affirmative by a Majority of twenty Voices. Thus was the Throne happily fill'd with King *William* and Queen *Mary*, whose Disintereſt in this whole Proceeding has been obſerv'd before: And there is one thing farther obſervable, that his late Majeſty expreſt always an Abhorrence for any Meaſures that fail'd in reſpect to King *James*'s Perſon. When he firſt came into *England* he underſtood in his March, that ſome bold People began to talk of proceeding Perſonally againſt King *James*. He preſently deſired the Man who acquainted him with it, to find out who they were that held ſuch Impious Diſcourſe, for he would ſuffer none of them to ſtay about him; and it appear'd very evidently at *Windſor* how firm he was to this Reſolution; for when he was in his Hands, and many adviſ'd him to keep him ſafe, at leaſt till *Ireland* was reduc'd, if not to the end of the War, ſome propoſing his own Town of *Breda* as a fit Place; he ſaid, *Thoſe Advices may be perhaps both Safe and Wiſe, but he could not follow them; for whatever he might do in the way of the War, he could not bring himſelf to any thing Perſonally againſt him*; and he not only gave the Guards that waited on him publick Orders, but ſecret Directions to leave him at full liberty. There are ſome half Politicians, if they deſerve the Name, who object to this

this, that if King *James* had stay'd, the Throne having not been vacant by his *Desertion*, King *William* could not have fill'd it, and therefore he Politickly facilitated his escape. It is no doubt he might have prevented it; for he could not but know as well as others, what every one said of King *James's* intended departure, a Fortnight or three Weeks before he went, which the Courtiers did not stick at telling, and it was the Advice of all the hot *Catholicks* in *England*; and as to Vacancy of the Throne, the Breach of the Original Contract is as much an Abdication, as the flying to *France*. The Power of the Prince's Friends was such, that had he chosen the Advices that were given him, with respect to securing the King's Person, and countenanc'd the Ferment the Nation was threatned with on the miscarriage of the Convention, in what concern'd his Interest, had he encourag'd those Addresses he severely frown'd upon, as he did on every thing that seem'd tumultuary, it is not question'd but the Abdication of the Throne might have taken another Turn, and it had not been safe for the Enemies of Liberty to have oppos'd it.

They grew wanton afterwards, when they had had time to breathe, and to perceive that the Nation seeing their main Concerns settled, began to be so indifferent about other Matters which had too distant a relation to it that under several Pretexts, they might carry

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on their Designs which it was the more eaſy for them do, while his Majeſty King *William* had a Competitor living, and a Foreign War to ſupport againſt the moſt Powerful Monarch in the World. How that Malecontent Faction uſurping ſometimes the Name of the Church, and ſometimes that of the Country Party, ſerv'd him, is Notorious to all that have Years and Memory, and were near the Scene where their Parts were acted.

The Treaty between King *James* and the Prince of *Orange*, when his Highneſs was at *Littlecot*, was one of their Councils; for he was then ſurrounded by thoſe Men call'd *Tories* in the two former Reigns: They got the King to iſſue out Writs for a Parliament, hoping, ſays an Author of Authority, *to have ſhamm'd the Kingdom with ſuch ſpecious Conceſſions for keeping out Popery, and redreſſing Grievances, that might have ſent the Prince home again with a good Sum of Money and fair Promiſes; but the Cowardice of the late King after Commiſſions for a Treaty ſign'd made that Attempt fruitleſs, and brought him to be at the Prince's Diſpoſe.*

They perſwaded the Prince of *Orange* to have preſently caus'd his Army to proclaim him King, and to have aſſum'd to himſelf the Royal Office, preſuming to have kindled Hatred and Revenge in the Hearts of more than thoſe whoſe Love he had gain'd by his Declarations for reſtoring our Religion, Laws and Liberties; but the Vanity and pernicious Conſequence

quence of these Councils were so discover'd, and he resolv'd to leave all things to the Representative Body of the Nation.

His own excellent Judgment, which was superiour to all theirs, shewing him that it was too rash for him to venture his Reputation and Fortune on the desperate Advice of such Counsellors, Men of small Experience and Capacity. He had been bred in too wise a School to need any Lessons from such Politicians, tho afterwards when he was King, the necessity of his Affairs oblig'd him to make use of them, and several of them who had been Instruments of King *Charles* and King *James*'s Arbitrary Power, then apply'd themselves to the new King, with servile Flatteries, and mean Submissions to gain his Ears and Favour, in hopes to promote the return of their old Master. They therefore craftily perswaded him from all Courses that tended to the utter Exclusion of King *James*; they insinuated Visionary Dangers of the dispersing King *James*'s Army, and advis'd, that those who had dispers'd themselves should be gather'd into Troops and Companies. To bring him into Debt, they got him to promise to pay their Arrears, though they had been rais'd by King *James* for the Destruction of our Religion and Government. They did their utmost by false Insinuations to prevent the King's Acceptance of the repeated Offers from several Counties, Cities and Gentle-

men, to raise him Regiments of Horse and Foot at their own Charge, upon whose Fidelity he might have depended, particularly Mr. *Oliver Cromwel* of *Hampshire*, and Major *Beamish* of *Colchester*. The Reasons against the latter being, that he had serv'd the Parliament, and against the former, that he might set up for himself. It was these Men that hinder'd King *William*'s hearkening to *Tyrconnel*'s frank Offers to resign the Kingdom of Ireland. When they could not hinder the Settlement of the Crown on King *William* and Queen *Mary*, they affected to be the most eager for proclaiming them, and to heap all Powers upon them confusedly, without mention or regard to the Kingdom's Rights. They brag'd then, as they do now, that they *were the only Men for Monarchy*, and always defended the Prerogatives of the Crown. These were the Men, who being loaded with the Guilt of the two former Reigns, pretended they durst not displease the House of Commons in arguing for the Crown, as they would while such severe Rods were over them; therefore they prest the King to *hasten on Acts of Indemnity*. And the House thinking it convenient to except *all Treasons*, Murders in forms of Law, Suspensions of the Laws, Establishments of Popish Courts, surrendring and betraying Charters, and the like Publick Crimes. These Men of Loyalty flatter'd the new King, that they had rather depend on his own Pardon, than an Act so clog'd with Exceptions.

ceptions.

tions. They advis'd him to influence such Members of Parliament as he could, to obstruct the passing the Bill depending for Corporations, by which it was intended to exclude from the Magistracy for some Years, all the principal Betrayers and Surrenderers of Charters that consequently all the Magistrates might have been chosen out of those honest *Englishmen* who had hazarded themselves in opposing King *James*'s illegal Practices. By this means most of King *James*'s Adherents were suffer'd to continue in the Offices and Trusts of all the Corporations to be ready to chuse Members of Parliament like themselves, and here is the rise of all the Misfortunes which have since attended this unhappy Nation.

These Men, whose Faction King *William* and his true Friends might easily have crusht for ever at the Revolution, having kept Footing in this manner, gain'd Ground daily by their Pretences of Zeal for the Church and Monarchy. The Clergy fell in with them out of Hatred to the Dissenters; the Pulpit and the Press were on their side, and it was so early, as those Times more dangerous to write freely for the Constitution than to write against it. So bold was their Party, that a Petition was presented to the House of Commons from the Common Council of *London*, against Admission of Sir *Thomas Pilkington* to be Lord Mayor, Sir *Leonard Robinson* to be Chamberlain, *&c.* under

several

several false Allegations. A Petition contrived to obstruct the great Business of Parliament, and carry'd on, says an Author, that answer'd it about the Year 1690. *By the very Men that surrender'd their Ancient Rights and Privileges, several of them Famous in the Tryals of the Lord* Russel, *Mr.* Rouse, *Sir* Samuel Barnardiston, *Mr.* Papillon, *Mr.* Bateman *and others*, whose Lives and Estates were Sacrific'd to the Resentment of a Cruel Court. A Petition continues he, *promoted by many that wear the Habit indeed of the Church of* England, *but who make it their chiefest Business to promote the Interest of the Church of* Rome; *who by Virtue of their Profession, gaining an Ascendant over the Consciences of many People make an ill use of the Confidence they have in them. In a Word, whoever they were that advis'd, or fram'd, or Subscrib'd this Petition, it appears by the ill Luck it has had, to have been a Mutinous* Jacobite *Contrivance, to disturb the Proceedings of the House of Commons.* Who were then prest to hasten the Supplies they had Voted, I have seen a List of the Names of the Subscribers of this Petition, too long to be inserted here, and most of them too Obscure; but amongst the rest, I remember there were those of

William Withers, *Samuel Gerrard,*
Thomas Blackmore, *Samuel Ongley,*
Peter Elbyen, *George Newland,*
Robert Beddingfield, *Richard Beauchamp,*
William Leeden, *John Genew,*
Samuel Clark, *Laurence Cole,*
Richard Hoar, *Robert Brough,* &c.

By theſe Artifices, the Corporations continu'd for the moſt part, in the Hands of thoſe that had had them in King *Charles* and King *James*'s Reigns. Elections were accordingly of this mixture, for Burgeſſes in Parliament. The Government of the Counties were diſpos'd of moſtly by their Recommendation, eſpecially the *London* Lieutenancy, *which was Committed to thoſe who moſt comply'd with King* James, *to deſtroy their Liberties.* Collonels and Officers put in upon the *Revolution*, were turn'd out a Year or two after. At which Proceedings the E. of *S.* —— at that time one of the Principal Secretaries of State, who came over with the King, was ſo diſſatisfy'd that he deſir'd Leave to lay down his Office, and not ſerve in ſuch Company. It was theſe Men who poſtpon'd the Relief of *Ireland*, by perſwading his Majeſty to try the ways of Treaty firſt, and the Man recommended to him, was Col. *Richard Hamilton*, who was ſent to *Dublin*, to take the Government out of *Tyrconnels* Hand; ſo ſure had they repreſented his intended Submiſſion: Inſtead of which, *Hamilton* declar'd immediately for King *James*, and was one of the moſt Inveterate Enemies of the Proteſtants, in the War that follow'd it. Mr. *Temple*, Son of Sir *William Temple*, who had been impos'd on by the Faction, to ſpeak well of *Hamilton* to the King, when he found how he was betray'd and his Majeſty by his means, tho' Guiltleſs of any Criminal Deſign, Sacrific'd his own Life as an Attonement for his Fault

or an Base to his Mind, and leaping into the *Thames*, near *London-Bridge*, was there drown'd. These were the Men that kept up the long Debates in the *House of Commons*, about Declaring the *Irish* War, the Sums to be given for that Use, the Time for which they were to be continu'd, and the Arts us'd to delay the Dispatch of them. These oppos'd the Mareschal *De Schomberg*'s Advice, not to stay for a Fleet to Transport an Army to *Ireland*, but to march immediately to Port *Patrick* in *Scotland*, from whence they might pass over to *Ireland* in a few Hours, which had not only prevented *Dundee*'s Rebellion in *Scotland*, but reliev'd *Londonderry*, and hinder'd King *James*'s forming so great an Army as he did, to prolong the War. And the main Reason why the Faction was for delaying Things thus, was out of Affection to King *Lewis*, as well as King *James*: For the *French* King depended so entirely on the Friendship of King *Charles* and King *James*, that he was not at all prepar'd for a War with *England*. His Fleet was not in a readiness, nor the Fortifications of *Brest*, St. *Maloes*, *Cherburgh*, and *Havre de Grace*, in a Condition to withstand the Attack of our *English* Fleet and Army; therefore his Friends here, by their Treacherous Councils, hinder'd the King's making such use of a Fleet of near 100 Men of War, as he might have done, on his coming to the Crown. The Lord *Dartmouth* having deliver'd up above 40 Ships, and he brought above 50 with him.

But it was always said, we must not be hasty in Declaring War with *France*. It was plain a War was inevitable, and when at last the Convention Parliament saw into these Matters, and trac'd the Mischiefs to the Source, they Addrest against such as had oppos'd the Settlement of the King, and formerly betray'd *England* to *France*; at which the Faction exclaim'd, as an Infringement of Regal Power, that this Assembly were Men of Republican and Antimonarchical Principles, and so far they prevail'd, that they were Dissolv'd; which delay'd the Relief of *Ireland* for Two Months, lost the Money Bills for that Expedition, kept Duke *Schomberg*'s Army in a Starving Condition and stop'd the fitting out the Fleet which expos'd our Coasts to the Disgrace of being Insulted by the *French*. After the Convention Parliament was Dissolv'd it was this Faction who endeavour'd to perswade the Members of the next, *That all the Convention did, ought to be null and void* and when a Member of that House, propos'd the Confirming their Acts, one of King *William*'s Tory Councellors reply'd *What was void from the beginning, could never be Confirm'd* Nay, I have read that many of the then Courtiers, to prevent an Act of Recognition, privately solicited the Members of the House of Commons against it, saying *leave it as you found it* which they did, to keep up a False Notion of King *James*'s Right, founded on the Principles of *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance*

Resistance; not out of any Nicety of Conscience, but to confound Matters, and bring us into a Confusion, out of which we might not be easily able to get, but by undoing all that had been done, wherein they were to find their Accounts, both with respect to their Passion and Interests. For these were the Motives that kept up this *Faction*, and the Pretence of *Church* and *Monarchy*, was only made use of as a Blind to deceive those who were so weak as to imagine King *William* was a *Republican* and *Presbyterian*. These were the Men, who when a Bill was offer'd to this Parliament, to acknowledge, *That their Majesties King* William *and Queen* Mary *were, are, and of Right ought to be, by the Laws of this Realm, our Sovereign Liege Lord and Lady, &c. And to Enact, That all the Acts of the Convention Parliament were, and are Laws and Statutes of this Kingdom.* Insinuated at Court, that such a Bill was of Dangerous Consequence, and treacherously advis'd his Majesty to use his Interest among the Members of both Houses, to lay it aside. Another Instance of their Faithless Councils, was their putting King *William* on ordering a General Act of Indemnity, without regard to Exemplary Justice, for the Treasons and Murders committed by them and their Abettors, in the Two Preceding Reigns. When they had got this done, they Laught at the Deceit, and the Consequence was, that of the Crowd of Criminals which those Two

Reigns produc'd, not one, not even the Infamous *Jefferies*, had a Proceſs Iſſu'd againſt him, which gave Occaſion to many to believe, there was not Matter ſufficient for it, whereas the contrary is too Notorious to need Proof. Theſe were the Men that advis'd his Majeſty not to Arm the *Iriſh Proteſtants*, and take his Regular Troops to *Flanders* with him, in the firſt Campaign he made there after he was King. It was they who put him upon going in Perſon to *Ireland* and the *Netherlands*, in hopes he would never return, but his Courage and Conduct ſurmounted all Hazards, and his Thirſt of Glory prevented his diſcovering the Treachery of thoſe that advis'd it. Many of the Houſe of Commons ſaw the Danger of the Government, from employing Perſons in it, that could not without an Act of Grace have been employ'd; and a Bill was offer'd to the Houſe, to oblige all in Office, to ſubſcribe a Declaration agreeable to the Act before-mention'd, That their Majeſties were Lawfully and Rightfully King and Queen; but it was evaded by divers Artifices. The Myſterious Conſtruction of the Oath of Allegiance only, whiſper'd before, began now in the Year 1691, to be made Publick, by which the Faction would have taken off all the binding Powers of that Oath to the King and Queen. Some of the Clergy, when they took it at the Quarter Seſſions, demanded boldly to enter their perverted Senſe upon Record: They invented the

Notional Diſtinction of a King *De Facto*, and *De Jure*, allowing no more to King *William*, than to have unjuſtly got the Poſſeſſion of the Crown, and taking away King *James*'s Right. They talk'd, that the taking Oaths, was no acknowledgement of the King and Queen's Title, nor inconſiſtent with their Oaths to King *James*. That the Power their Majeſties had gain'd, made thoſe Oaths Lawful, while King *James* was unable to protect them; and they did nothing againſt his Right. They cry'd up the Statute of II. *Hen.* 7. that it ſhould not be Treaſon to follow a King in Poſſeſſion, and therefore advis'd King *James*'s Officers and Friends, to take Employments under King *William*, till they ſhould have a time to appear for their *True King*. They decry'd the *Original Contract*, and induſtriouſly obſtructed a Declaration of the Particulars of all the Illegal Acts of King *James*, by which, ſays my Author, *It might have been manifeſt to all the World, that he Renounc'd and Abdicated his Office of an* Engliſh *Legal King*. They privately made Odious Compariſons between King *James*'s Reign and King *William*'s, charging his Majeſty with thoſe Errors in the Adminiſtration they had themſelves been the Occaſion of; and to ſhew the True Spirit of the Party, which ever was, and ever will be the ſame, againſt the Proteſtant Intereſt and Liberty, *They dexterouſly avoided to* uſe the ſame Writers Words, *The Matter of the Suppos'd Prince of* Wales, *and would not ſuf-*

fer'd to be brought into Parliament, that the Impoſture might have been proved, and declar'd to all the World. The juſt Ground of Suſpicion of that Impoſture, have been mention'd in the foregoing Pages, taken from the Paſſages relating to it, in the *Memorial of the Church of* England, which was preſented to the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* before the *Revolution*. When there were Living Witneſſes to prove thoſe ſtrong Circumſtances, the Force of ſuch Teſtimony, muſt have put the Suſpicion out of doubt, and been ſufficient Proof for the Legiſlative to declare the Impoſture. I have read in ſome Foreign Papers, Printed in *Auguſt*, 1688. that Her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of *Denmark* was ill us'd at Court, for being a little too Curious, and offering to feel the Queen's Breaſts after the Pretended Delivery. *La Princeſſe*, ſays the *French* Author, *a reçû quelque chagrin pour s'etre montrée un peu trop curieuſe l'on dit qu'aiant voulu tater le Sein de la Reine peu de jours apres ſes couches, l'on tourne en mal ce qu'elle avoit fait comme ſi elle eut douté de ſon Accouchement.* By which at leaſt it appears, the Impoſture was as much ſuſpected Abroad as at Home; and the Faction were in the Right, for their Intereſt in the Impoſtors, to hinder an Inquiry into that Buſineſs, when the Vigour of People's Evidence from the Recency of the Fact, muſt have produc'd Conviction. Their crying up the Cheat lately, is no more a Sign of their Converſion to me, than their

crying

crying up the Reality of his Royal Birth than was a Proof of their Sincerity. I value not what Men say, when their Actions belye their Words. If it be inquir'd how these Men came to be admitted into K. *William's* Court and Favour, I, who by my Age and Station in the World, could know little of such Affairs, must have recourse to others; and I find this Account given of it, in a Pamphlet written about the time of the design'd *French* Invasion, from *La Hogue*.

"The —— after all his mischievous ma-
"nagement of Affairs in King *Charles's*
"Reign, having by an ill Fate to this
"poor Nation, got into some small Pre-
"tence of Merit by the little Assistance
"he gave at the *Revolution*, sets up again
"for the Ministry; but being apprehen-
"sive that those *True English Men*, who
"had so bravely expos'd their Lives and
"Fortunes, for the Redemption of their
"Country, and were so well acquainted
"with his Methods in the Late Reigns,
"would be Jealous of his having too great
"Credit with the King, he thought it
"his best play to begin with them; and
"from his first coming to Court, labour'd
"to insinuate Jealousies of those Gentle-
"men, as *Common-Wealths-Men, Haters of*
"*Monarchy, Enviers of the King's Power,*
"and *always endeavouring to make him a*
"*Doge of* Venice. It was he who brought
"in the E. of —— to be Secretary
"of State, and many others of that Par-
"ty, with whose Assistance, they for a
"while carry'd every thing before them.
These were the Men, who when the Report

was

was of a Deſcent from *France*, abſconded, as the Deputy Lieutenants of *Surry* would have done, when they refus'd to raiſe the Militia on that Occaſion. Theſe were the Men that kept the Aſſeſſing of Taxes low, under Notion of ſerving the Country, but in Truth to create Deficiencies and Difficulties. It was theſe Men who ſhew'd their Good Will to King *William*, by rejoycing at the Succeſſes of *France*, which was done more than once publickly at *Bath* and *Windſor*. Theſe betray'd his Councils to the *French*; theſe obſtructed the Vigorous Proſecution of the Conſpirators in ſeveral Years of that Reign. In a word, theſe were the Men, or ſome of their Emiſſaries, who were thought too often to be concern'd in thoſe Conſpiracies, of which will more be ſaid in due time. 'Tis ſufficient to take Notice here, of what a Contemporary Writer obſerv'd of the Firſt Plot in 1690. when the King was to be Aſſaſinated, and the Kingdom Invaded by the *French*, had not the Battel of the *Boyne* diſappointed all their Helliſh Deſigns. *I ſee*, ſays this Writer, *by the Gazettes and Proclamations, that the Queen and Her Council know not how far this Conſpiracy doth extend. Several Lords are in Hold under the Charge of Treaſon, ſeveral Officers of Her Majeſty's Guard, and other Troops, are ſecur'd; ſeveral Great Men are fled, and great Numbers are ſuſpected to have waited for the Landing of the* French, *to have ſhew'd themſelves in Arms againſt their Majeſties. In ſhort, there is too much Rea-*

ſon

ſon to fear a General Revolt of moſt in Authority, &c.

The Murmurs and Diſcontents in *England*, after a *Revolution* ſo happily brought about in ſo ſhort a time, made all *Europe* look on us as the moſt Ungrateful and Stupid of People, to treat our *Deliverance*, and our *Deliverer* in ſuch a manner. The Proteſtants abroad could hardly believe there cou'd be found in *England*, one ſingle Proteſtant diſſatisfy'd at what had happen'd, and in Love with Ruin. To give a Hint of the Sentiments of Neighbouring Nations, with Relation to the Diſſatisfaction of a Party here, I ſhall incert the Heads of a Letter, written by a Miniſter of State at *Berlin* in 1679. to a Perſon of Honour in *England*.

TO underſtand by your laſt, that there are ſome among you not fully ſatisfy'd with your late Revolution, *is a thing as unexpected to me, as unpleaſant. For theſe Nine or Ten Years paſt, all* Europe *was deafned with the Noiſe of the Encroachments made upon your Country, by your Kings; and we were always of Opinion, that no Nation in the World was more uneaſie and impatient under theſe Encroachments, than the* Engliſh *People. I need not tell you, that the very Name of your Two laſt Kings was become Odious to all* Germany, *both to the* Roman Catholicks *and* Lutherans; *for inſtead of keeping the Ballance equal between* France *and* Spain, *and Us, they by leaning to the* French *ſide, in ſpite of all the Inſtances made them by Foreign Miniſters, may*

be

be justly said to be the Cause of all the Miseries brought upon Europe, by the French Arms and Intrigues; yet our Kindness and Concern for the English Nation, was never the less, because we perswaded our selves that the Conduct of your King was far contrary to your own Inclinations, and that you were as much real Enemies to the growing Greatness of France, as we our selves. And that which remov'd all sort of Jealousy of your Nation, in Point of French Friendship, was the measures taken by those Two Kings, and especially the last of 'em, in Conjunction with the French King, and conformable to Measures given him by that Court, to enslave the English, and introduce the Religion of Rome, notwithstanding all your Laws to the contrary. My Lord, You know that the late Descent made into that Kingdom, by your present King, the then Prince of Orange, was the Effect of the Consultations of most of the Protestant Princes of Germany, and of the States of Holland, who unanimously laid hold of the Addresses and Importunities of the Nobleman and Gentry of England, made to the Prince of Orange, as an Occasion to deliver your Nation from the Miseries they groan'd under; and at the same time to secure themselves from the Dangers the Friendship betwixt your King, and the French King threatned them with; and upon the good or bad Success of that Undertaking, we look'd upon the Happiness or Ruin of the Protestant Interest to depend. I have many Reasons to admire to what Constellation this late murmuring Humour in England, owes its Rise; for sure I am, and I speak it from my own proper Knowledge,

the

the English were mightily impatient of King James's Reign; and at most of the Courts in this Part of Christendom, they found ways to express their Troubles with the Greatest Intreaties for Help: And both You and I knew, that His then Royal Highness of the P. Orange, was so far from being fond of the Employment he was put upon, notwithstanding his own Honour and Interest call'd him to it, that he resisted the Importunities of your Country-Men for a considerable Time, and would not be perswaded to an Attempt upon England, till it was again and again told him, and he had all the Reason in the World to believe it, That the whole Protestants of England were earnest for his coming, and would assist him in the Action, with their Lives and Estates. My Lord, I hope your Goodness will pardon me to tell you, That if any thing were capable to give me a mean Opinion of your Nation, this would do it; to see a People that made such a Noise through all Europe of their Miseries and Oppressions, to loath a Deliverance that cost them so little; But the Acquaintance I have had of your Nation both here, and when I had the Honour of a Publick Character at London, gives me Ground to think the Number of those Murmurers cannot be great; and tho' you are pleas'd to call them Protestants, I must presume to say of them, That they are either such in Mask, or those that can change their Religion when it suits with their Interest ——— I have done, when I have told you that this sort of murmuring will put you out of any Hope of the least Assistance from any of the Protestant Powers or States Abroad, in Time coming, in case you

you bring your ſelves to a too late Repentance. For none will concern themſelves for a People that have been ſo baſe and ungrateful to their Benefactors, and who have ſo ill requited an Action that merited the beſt Reſentments.

This Letter ſays Dr. *Wellwood*, "Gives "us a Hint of the Character we are like "to bring on our ſelves, among our "Neighbouring Nations, upon the Ac- "count of this odd Piece of our *Mur- "muring Folly*, and helps us to ſee how "little we may hope for from them, "whenever our Unreaſonable Jealouſies "and Miſtakes ſhall render us again "Miſerable." There was hardly any Nation in *Europe*, *Popiſh* or *Proteſtant*, except the *French*, who did not highly extol our Courage in *England*, in aſſerting our Liberty, and our Happineſs in accompliſhing it. A Perſon of Quality Abroad, wrote to a Man of Worth and Learning in *England*, a Year after the Abdicating of King *James*. *Is it really true, what ſome People write from* England, *That there any Proteſtants among you diſſatisfy'd with the late* Revolution *in that Kingdom, and with your preſent Settlement.* So hard it was to perſwade the Nations about us, that we could poſſibly ſink to ſuch a Degree of Infatuation, as but to wiſh a Change in our preſent Condition. The Court of *Rome*, who one would think, was moſt concern'd of any, to eſpouſe King *James*'s Quarrel, abandon'd it; and the Emperor; the Kings of *Spain*, *Sweden* and *Den-*

Denmark; the Republick of *Holland*, *Venice* and *Switzerland*; in a word all the Potentates and People of *Europe*, except the *French* King, and the Duke of *Modena* wish'd well to our *Revolution* and Settlement, in which they were not themselves unconcern'd, their Liberties depending in a great Measure on ours. Of this Disposition of Foreigners towards us, as far as it relates to the Assistance they gave us, something has been said in the preceeding Pages.

I shall now see what they thought of our Abdicated King at *Rome*. The Cardinal *D'Estre*, Brother to the D. of *Modena*, and our late Queen *Mary* of St. *Germains*, who had the Quality of Protector of our Nation, and was at that time in the *French* Interest, tho' he has since laid by that and the Purple, and as Duke of *Modena*, has been as Zealous for the Common Cause, and has suffer'd and gain'd as much by it, as any Prince of his Rank in *Christendom*. This Cardinal, soon after the *Revolution*, demanded Audience of the Pope on that Occasion, but was put off from time to time, and at last requir'd to give a Memorial of the Subject Matter of the Audience he desir'd. Accordingly the following one was deliver'd to Pope *Odescalchi*.

THE *Bad Circumstances of his* Britannick *Majesty, and of the* Catholicks *in* England, *oblig'd him humbly to entreat His Holiness to endeavour an Union of all* Catholick

Catholick Princes, for the Restauration of his Britannick Majesty; and in the mean time, he had it in Command from the King, to beg His Holiness to take into his Fatherly Protection and Tenderness, The Most Christian King, whose Zeal to propagate the Catholick Religion, has so signally appear'd, and upon whose Protection and Assistance, King James did most rely, for the Recovery of his Kingdoms.

It was a Week before the Cardinal had any Answer to the Memorial, and then instead of being admitted to Audience, he was refer'd to the *Master of the Sacred Palace*, who was order'd to attend His Eminence at the Palace *Pamphilio*, where he publickly made him the following Speech.

HIS Holiness has Commanded me to wait upon your Eminence, and in his Name to tell you, That his Holiness, as the Common Father of Christendom, is much afflicted with the present bad Circumstances of his Dearest Son his Britannick Majesty, and the rather, that his Misfortunes have been both sudden and unexpected. But he Commands me likewise to tell you, That he looks upon that inseparable Conjunction betwixt that King, and the King of France, and the Measures he received by him from the French Court, to have been the True Source of the King of Britain's Miseries; especially considering the People of England were ever naturally inclinable to suspect their King's Friendship with France, as tending to infringe their Liberties, and subject them

them to a French *ſort of Government, whereof they are ſo impatient. I am Commanded in the Third Place to tell your Eminence, that it is his Holineſs's Opinion, That the Incroachments of the King of* France *upon the Empire, and Territories of the* Catholick *King, together with his undutiful Carriage to the Holy See, in Point of the Franchiſes, has been the Occaſion of the Princes of the Empire, the King of* Sweden, *and the* Hollanders *entring into a Defenſive and Offenſive League, and of the Prince of* Orange's *bold Attempt upon* England; *ſo that the Breaches of* Europe, *and the Ruin of his* Britannick *Majeſty, and of the* Catholick *Religion of thoſe Kingdoms, now in Poſſeſſion of the Prince of* Orange, *muſt lye at the Door of, and be imputed to the King of* France. *His Holineſs Commands me in the Fourth Place, to tell your Eminence, that in reſpect of this long War with the* Turks, *and the Continuation of it by the Inſtigation of the King of* France, *His Holineſs has expended vaſt Sums of Money, and is oblig'd to expend as much more as he can poſſibly ſpare; and is likewiſe oblig'd to fortify his own Territories, and keep more Forces on Foot than Ordinary: For which Reaſon, it is utterly impoſſible for His Holineſs to aſſiſt his* Britannick *Majeſty with any Money at this Juncture. I am Commanded likewiſe to tell your Eminence in the laſt Place, that for certain Important and Weighty Reaſons, His Holineſs cannot allow neither your Eminence, nor his Eminence the Cardinal* D' Eſtrees, *Publick or Private Audience.*

Nor was this the ſingle Opinion of Pope *Innocent* XI. but of the whole Court of *Rome*, before the *French* King's Succeſſes and Bribes had given them other Views and Projects. For on that Pope's Death, the *Conclave* appear'd to have the very ſame Sentiments, when the Cardinal *D' Eſtrees* apply'd to his Brethren in the Name of the *French* King, and told them his Maſter would renounce all Pretenſions to the Franchiſes, and reſtore the Country of *Avignon* to the ſucceeding Pope, if each Cardinal at his Entrance into the *Conclave*, would promiſe, that in caſe he was choſen Pope, he would do his utmoſt to procure a Peace between *France* and the Catholick Princes in Alliance againſt her; and after that, endeavour to engage them to eſpouſe King *James*'s Quarrel, in order to reinſtate him in his Throne. The Cardinals anſwer'd him for the moſt part, as Cardinal *Altieri*, one of the then Candidates for the Papacy, did, with great Coldneſs. *That he was very deſirous that there ſhould be a good Underſtanding between all* Catholick *Princes, but he was afraid the* French *King's Encroachments upon his Neighbours, had render'd the Breach too wide; that it was impoſſible to make it up in haſte, altho' the King of* France *was Sincere in his Deſign, as he much doubted; yet he himſelf, and moſt of the Cardinals, had Reaſon to know, that King* James *ow'd his Ruin to the Meaſures he had taken with the* French *King; and that a War on Account of Religion, would not reliſh well at this Juncture,*

Juncture, especially considering that the present King of England *was in the strictest Alliance with the Emperor, the King of* Spain, *the Elector of* Bavaria, *the Elector* Palatine, *and a great many of the* Catholick *Princes, whose Honour and Interest will oblige them to keep him their Friend, as being best able to assist them against* France, *both in the Quality of King of* England, *and Stadtholder of the* United Provinces. He added, *That the above-nam'd Princes had no Reason to promote the Interest of a King, whose constant Adherence to the* French *side, had given them so many Grounds of Jealousy, and been in Part the Cause of so much Trouble to* Christendom. I flatter my self, that the Curious, who will not have many Opportunities of meeting with these Passages, they having never been shewn to the World but in loose Papers, and that so long ago as the *Revolution*; to which they relate, will be pleas'd to find them here; especially since they shew us what Opinion the *Roman* Court had of K. *James*'s Folly, in adhering to the *French* King, and of the Justice of his Nation in dealing with him as they did for it. Four Months after this Discourse between the Cardinals *Altieri* and *D' Estrees*, the Late Abdicated King sent his Trusty Servant the Lord *Melfort* to *Rome*, in Quality of his Ambassador, which was like the rest of King *James*'s Conduct; that Lord having the ill Fortune to have been spoken of there before, as one of the greatest Occasions of his Masters Fall. In the discharge of this Trust, the Am-

baſſador committed an Error, which did not at all forward his Affairs; for out of Affection to the *French* Intereſt, he could not help waiting on the Cardinals of that Faction, before he paid his Viſit to the Cardinal *Nephews*, which gave great Diſguſt to the Court. When he demanded Audience, he was deſir'd to let thoſe Cardinals know his Errand, and was made to ſtay ſeveral Days before he obtain'd Admittance to the Pope's Preſence; no Body ſending their Coaches to Honour his Audience, but the *French* Ambaſſador, the Cardinal of *Modena*, and the Abbot *Croiſſi*. I ſhall not incert the Earl of *Melfort*'s Speech at length, it would take up too much room, and the Contents of it may be eaſily gueſt. He tells the Pope, *His Maſter had an Army in* Ireland, *of Might enough to recover his Kingdoms, was it not for the Confederacy againſt the Moſt Chriſtian King and Him*; which proves that we were Principals in the Firſt Grand Alliance, contrary to the Notion advanc'd lately by the *Faction* that ſucceeded the *Murmurers*, of whom we have been ſpeaking. The Allies came in therefore as Seconds, and the Second Alliance being founded on the Firſt; a Pretender ready to Uſurp the Late King's Throne, and to follow his Meaſures, we were certainly as much Principals in that as the former Confederacy, and in the Glorious War that follow'd it, which I ſuppoſe by this time is ended in a Peace ten times more Glorious, as will be prov'd by ſo many Abler Pens,

Pens, that I ſhall not undertake it. The Earl of *Melfort*, among other Reaſons to prevail upon the Pope to aſſiſt King *James* with his Purſe againſt King *William*, uſes this mighty Argument, by which one may have a good *Idea* of the wonderful Abilities of King *James* and his Miniſters, that His Holineſs ought to lend his Money, becauſe a P. of *Orange* formerly took *Rome* and the Pope; and if it was in his Power, this Prince of *Orange* would follow his Predeceſſor's Footſteps, but Pope *Ottoboni* had rather give what he could ſcrape together to his Nephews, and return'd this ſhort Anſwer, affecting an Indiſpoſition. *That he was troubled at the Diviſion among* Catholick *Princes, that he would leave no Stone unturn'd to reconcile them; which however he thought it was no eaſie thing to effect, conſidering Provocations. That as to Money, he was but new come to the Holy Chair, and his Predeceſſor had left none in the Treaſury. And for any thing he had further to ſay to the Ambaſſador, he had given Order to his Nephew, and Cardinal* Altiert, *to conſer with him.* Thus far we have the Sentiments of the Pope, and Court of *Rome*, which were confirm'd by thoſe of the *Italian* Nation at that Juncture, as may be ſeen in a Book written by Father *Vernatti*, then a Member of the Council *De Perpaganda fide*, Printed at *Venice*, Entituled *Il Theatro aperto*; wherein, after he has expreſs'd himſelf with ſufficient Zeal for the Union of *Catholick Princes*, againſt our Heretick King and his Kingdoms; he writes thus reaſonably

ſonably and impartially, "I can never per-
"ſwade my ſelf that all the Aſſiſtance
"the Moſt Chriſtian King can lend King
"*James* will be ſufficient to re-eſtabliſh
"him in ſpight of the Oppoſition will be
"made by the *Engliſh* People, whoſe Zeal
"to a falſe Religion they have ſuck'd in
"with their Milk, renders them irre-
"concileable Enemies to a Prince, whom
"they know to be a juſt Abhorrer of it,
"and to have deſign'd the Extirpation
"of it out of his Kingdoms.

"We have Reaſon enough to know,
"that none are more tenacious of their
"Doctrines than the Hereticks are, and
"though the Moſt Chriſtian King one
"way or another has rooted out Hereſy,
"or rather the open Profeſſion of it in
"his own Kingdom, yet the vaſt Num-
"of *French* who have abandon'd their
"Country upon the account of Hereſy,
"and the conſtant Complaints of the
"*Catholick Clergy* of *France*, that the new
"Converted (as they call them) are ſtill
"Hereticks in their Hearts, do prove
"ſufficiently, that it is next to Impoſſi-
"bility to root out that Poyſon in Minds
"once tainted with it. Likewiſe we need
"not ſpare to ſay, if the *French Hugonots*
"had been but equal in Number and
"Power to the Catholicks, all the At-
"tempts of the Moſt Chriſtian King had
"been in vain. But ſetting aſide the
"Caſe of the *French*, it is not to be ima-
"gin'd, that the *Engliſh* who for more
"than an Age have been uſed to the

"ſweet-

" ſweetneſs of enjoying the Revenues once
" paid out of that Kingdom to the Holy
" Church, and have had Hereſy eſtabliſh'd
" and confirmed to them by reiterated
" Laws, and who have had inculcated into
" them by their Prieſts an Abhorrence of
" the Uſurpations of the See of *Rome*, as
" they Blaſphemouſly call the juſt Autho-
" rity and Superiority St. *Peter* has over
" them and their Country. It is not to be
" imagin'd, I ſay, that ſuch People will
" ever be ſubjected to a Prince of another
" Religion, whom they have thrown off at
" the greateſt Hazard, eſpecially having
" now for their Head a Prince of their
" own Religion, and whom they call'd in-
" to their Aſſiſtance againſt the Attempts
" made by the other to bring them into the
" Boſom of the Church. And indeed, ac-
" cording to their own Principles it was
" Madneſs for them to do otherwiſe.

Here's one of the moſt Bigotted Enemies of our Primitive Apoſtolick Church, and one who lays aſide much of the *Italian* Politeneſs, to expreſs his ill Opinion of us through his Book, even this Man, I ſay, is pleas'd to have a better Character of ſome of our Religion than they deſerve ſince they are really guilty of that Madneſs, which he is unwilling to charge them with. It is ſtrange, that we only ſhould be inſenſible of the Bleſſing all the reſt of *Europe* thought we enjoy'd, in having a King of our own Religion; yet now at the end of almoſt Twenty four Years we are as mad as ever, and ſeem impatient to run through the ſame Perils again, though

we are to diſpair of a Deliverer, if ever we want one. What Happineſs we are poſſeſt of in the enjoyment of Liberty, our Neighbours all around us ſee with Envy, and the wiſeſt of them, though they live under Tyrannies that make the explaining of their Sentiments of the laſt Danger, yet they cannot help ſpeaking of our Felicity with Rapture.

To this purpoſe is what Mr. *John Hampden* wrote in a Tract he publiſh'd in 1692, that diſcourſing ten Years before at *Paris* with the famous Hiſtorian *Mezeray* about the Difference of the Government in *France* and *England*, he broke out into theſe Expreſſions with Tranſport, *O Fortunatos nimium, bona ſi ſua norint, Angligenas! We had once in* France *the ſame Happineſs and the ſame Privileges which you have. Our Laws were made by Repreſentatives of our own chuſing. Our Money was not taken from us but by our own Conſent. Our Kings were ſubject to the Rules of Law and Reaſon, but now alas! we are are Miſerable, and all is loſt. Think nothing, Sir, too dear to maintain theſe Precious* Advantages, *and if ever there be Occaſion, venture your Life, your Eſtate, and all you have, rather than ſubmit to the miſerable Condition to which you ſee us reduc'd.* It is not ſuch *Frenchmen* as this we are affraid of. And 'tis only ſuch Men as Mr. *Hampden* that will meet with ſuch Leſſons from their *French* Friends. Men of Arbitrary Principles hear other Doctrine, the Glory of the Monarchy, the Service of the Crown, the Obedience of the Subject not reaſonable

able and legal, but unlimited and unconditional. The worſt *Engliſhmen* will always find out the worſt *Frenchmen*, and then Vanity and Arrogance are the beſt Qualities they learn of them.

Of all the Foreigners, either Proteſtants or Papiſts, that ſpoke of the Change in *England*; I mean that in 1688, he who was moſt fit to write for King *James* and his Cauſe was Father *Marthe*, who wrote in Vindication of the repealing the Edict of *Nants*; and he does it admirably, by proving from our abdicating that King, that *Antichriſt* is in *England*, and that here the Beaſt with the ſeven Heads and ten Horns has his principal Seat, which he ſets forth with equal Strength of Reaſon and Truth, in a Book he calls, *Entretins touchant l' Enterpriſe du Prince d' Orange ſur l' Angleterre ou l'on prove que ce le Action fait porter aux Proteſtants les Characters d' Antichriſtianiſme, &c.* It was printed at *Paris*, about *November* 1689, by the *French* King's own Approbation, Licens'd by one of his own Miniſters, and written by his own Penſioner. It is exactly of a Piece with the noble Works of a certain Faction with us, the Author being ſet to work *to impoſe upon Mankind the Belief of any thing how falſe ſoever, if it but ſeems to make for himſelf or derogate from thoſe whom he has forced to be his Enemies*, which is the Account given of him by a Man of great Worth of our own Country.

Having enquir'd into the Conduct of thoſe Men, after King *James* was ſettled on

on the Throne, and the Opinion Foreigners had of their *Murmurs* and the Prince for whom they pretended to be concern'd, I shall now see how that Prince behav'd himself after his Abdication; what signs of Amendment there appear'd in him; what Hope the Protestants of these Kingdoms might thence conceive of their faring better under him; what Reasons the Church had to wish for his Return, or an *Englishman* to believe he had learn'd any thing good in *France*: Because if the Father, who knew so much of the Temper of the *English*, and had suffer'd so much for his Adherence to *Popery* and *France*, could not Counterfeit a Regret for past Miscarriages, but took hold of all Occasions to shew these Nations they could never take him again, without the loss of their Religion and Liberties, what is to be expected from the pretended Son, who knows nothing of our Temper or Constitution, having never yet seen an *Englishman*, nor heard of us but as of so many Hereticks and Rebels, whom to chastise, as the *French* King does his *Hugonots*, would be Meritorious to God and Honourable to himself, to revenge the Affronts put upon his Father, his Mother, and the rest of the Banish'd Family.

In the Paper King *James* left at *Rochester*, he could not help recommending his Papists to the care of the Parliament, that they might be put on the same Foot with other *Englishmen*, a Privilege it is not thought fit

to

to allow those Protestant Dissenters, who contributed as much to the Safety of the Church as her own Sons, their Number and Opportunities being compar'd together. After he was gone, in the Letter he wrote the Conventions of *England* and *Scotland*, *He said he had not given any Cause of Complaint*: And being Conscious of no Crime, there could consequently be no Conversion, but a full Resentment of the Injustice done him, and a Resolution to make them pay dearly for the Usage he had met with, as he made appear sufficiently when he was in *Ireland*. He continu'd the Earl of *Milfort* in the Office of chief Minister for the Management of his small Affairs, and preferr'd his Councils to the Earl of *Middleton*'s, which were more moderate and more *British*. In *Ireland* he was surrounded by *French* Ministers; the Count *d'Avaux* under the Character of Ambassador, was indeed Governor of that Kingdom for the *French* King, and the same Fate would the other Parts of the *British* Monarchy have, if ever a *French* Power prevail'd there, whatever Title the Pretender might for a while be allow'd to wear: King *James*'s Generals were *French*, his Treasurer *French*, and even his Domestick Servants *French*. He had such an Aversion to the *English* Interest, that he could not hide it, and tho good Policy oblig'd him to dissemble, when the Lord *Mountjoy* came to *France* to him from *Ireland*, on the security of his

his Lord Lieutenant's Word, and indeed on his Meſſage, he had him thrown into Priſon, and kept many Years in great Reſtraint and Miſery, purely becauſe he was a Proteſtant and a Friend to *England*, in whoſe Quarrel he afterwards ſacrific'd his Life in *Flanders*. As ſoon as that King arriv'd at *Dublin*, the *Iriſh Popiſh* Biſhops and Clergy, as Biſhop *Tyrrel*, Dr. *Moor*, and others adviſ'd him to conſider his Catholick Subjects of that Kingdom for all their Sufferings, and to reſtore 'em the Churches and Poſſeſſions uſurp'd from them by the *Engliſh*, and Monſieur *d'Avaux* at his Publick Audience, deſir'd him, in his Maſter's Name, to ſhew diſtinguiſhing Marks of his Favour to his Popiſh Subjects. Immediately all the Proteſtants who had Employments, were commanded to lay them down. Not one of that Religion was allow'd to ſit in Council or bear Arms. The Lord *Grenard*, the Lord Chief Juſtice *Keating*, who had gone great Lengths in *Tyrconnel*'s Time, Sir *John Davis*, Sir *Thomas Newcomen*, Collonel *Ruſſel*, *&c.* were ſet aſide, and none permitted to hold any Place but Papiſts. Nay, ſo negligent was the King of any Body who did not turn Apoſtate, and quit the Church of *England*, that the worthleſs Biſhop of *Cheſter*, who had ſerv'd him in the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion*, and other ſuch illegal Services, dy'd at *Dublin* ſo miſerably Poor, that he wanted Neceſſaries, and being Dead, was bury'd at the Charge of a Proteſtant Prelate.

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The Proteſtants, who had liv'd like a Conquer'd People, expos'd to all the Violence of Soldiers and Robbers, hop'd that out of Diſcretion, the King would have protected them; and he told them indeed he would do what he could for them, but they receiv'd neither Satisfaction nor Juſtice. To give an Inſtance of the Treatment, the Proteſtants met with from the Papiſts, the Lord *Gallmoy* had in the North moſt barbarouſly cut off a Gentleman's Head, and made the Son carry it on a Pike in Triumph before his Regiment. Upon Complaint of this, he could not help ſeeming diſpleas'd with it, as he was with *Jeffery*'s Cruelties in the *Weſt*: However the Lord *Galmoy*, the very next Day after the Complaint, carry'd the Sword before him to Maſs. When the Biſhop of *Meath* with a Body of Proteſtant Clergy-men, waited on his Majeſty, the Biſhop addreſs'd himſelf to him thus,

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

THE *Clergy of the City of* Dublin *with ſeveral of the Rural Clergy that are retir'd from this Country for ſafety attend your Majeſty to Congratulate your Arrival in this Kingdom, and do humbly implore your Royal Protection to them, their Church and Religion, deſiring that from Time to Time they may be admited to make juſt Complaints of thoſe Injuries they have receiv'd.*

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The King's Answer was,

THAT he would protect all Men in their Religion and Properties, and as for the Wrongs that had lately been suffer'd by several, 'twas impossible in these Times of Commotion but such would happen, but he should, as far as he could prevent and redress them. However, continues he, if I am invaded in this Kingdom, as I have been in England, *I must secure my self as well as I can.*

One of these Clergy-men talking with an *Irish* Lord, who came from *France* with the King, and was a Man of the best Sense among them, said, *He hop'd now the King was come, he would protect his Protestants and redress them in those Injuries they had of late groan'd under, and not only so, but that his Majesty would be more than ordinary kind and favourable to them, in letting them share with his other Subjects the Employments both Civil and Military, that being the most probable Method for gaining on his Protestants of* England, *by whose means he must expect, if ever, to be resettled on his Throne.* The Lord reply'd, *That his Majesty was Naturally Merciful and Compassionate, and would, as far as he could, prevent all Injuries to any if his Subjects. But as to doing this with the design you mention, or for trusting his Protestants, I assure you 'tis far from his Thoughts. Both he and we had rather he should hazard and lose forty Crowns than be oblig'd to his Protestants for the Possession of his Kingdom. He can never expect to*

come

come in by those means, unless tyed and fetter'd with Conditions, which he cannot, nor shall not observe to them. 'Tis by the Force of the Arms of his good Catholicks, and by Assistance from the Glorious Monarch of France, *that he designs to regain his Dominions, and then he comes in free and boundless, like an absolute Conqueror, and shall afterwards do what he pleases.*

The *Irish* Protestants were in such hopes of being reliev'd by King *James*'s Presence, that they comply'd with the Popish Government to the full Extent of *Passive-Obedience*, till they despair'd of any Redress of their Grievances, and saw nothing but Ruin and Death before them. Ten Days after King *James*'s Arrival, there was a Proclamation publish'd, of Pardon for those of the *Sligo* Protestants who laid down their Arms and submitted to the *Irish* General, with Exceptions to the Earl of *Mount-Alexander*, the Lord Viscount *Massareen*, the Lord *Kingston*, *Clotworthy Sherington* Esq;, Sir *Robert Colvil*, Sir *Arthur Rowden*, Sir *John Magil*, and several other Protestant Gentlemen, which was sign'd by the Lord *Granard*, Sir *Thomas Newcomen*, and other Protestants, and is a Proof, that King *James* acted by *French* and *Irish* Councils, and had no just Reason to dispossess the Protestants of their Employments and Offices. Their Loyalty continuing till they found it would be of no Service to them if they did not renounce their Religion. What Usage the People of *England* and *Scotland* might

might have expected from him, appears by a Proclamation he himſelf publiſh'd againſt the *Scots* Convention about a Month after he came to *Dublin*, which *wills and requires all his good Subjects to the uttermoſt of their Power to riſe in Arms, aſſault, attack and deſtroy them, their Aſſiſters and Abettors, and to take and apprehend them, and bring them to Condign Puniſhment; their Eſtates, Goods, and Poſſeſſions to ſeize and employ for him or their Subſiſtance in his Service. And for whatever ſhall happen in proſecution of this his Will and Pleaſure, this ſhall be to them, and to all others concerned a ſufficient Warrant, Authority and Command; and for all Bloodſhed, Slaughter, Muti-lation, Fire-raſing, or other Damage done to theſe Rebels.* Yet at the ſame time he publiſh'd a ſort of Declaration, wherein is this Expreſſion, *That in* Ireland *the Defence of his Proteſtant Subjects had been his Eſpecial Care.* Witneſs the Acts he paſt in his pretended Parliament, which he call'd as ſoon as he came to *Dublin*, to deſtroy the Proteſtant Religion and Intereſt there by an Appearance of Law, as the Act *for attainting of High Treaſon Two thouſand four hundred of the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, and Commonalty*, among whom were the preſent Dukes of *Ormond* and *Buckingham*, there being ſeveral *Engliſh* Lords and Gentlemen who had Eſtates in *Ireland* included in that Bloody Bill.

An Act *for repealing the Act of Settlement, and reſtoring old Proprietors.*

An Act *for taking off Penal Laws and Teſts.*

An

An Act *for taking off all Writs of Error and Appeals in* England.

An Act *for taking of Valuation Money and other Rights from the Clergy.*

An Act *for the Independency of* Ireland *upon* England.

An Act *for repealing Poynings Act.*

Whiich Bills and ſeveral others of the like Tendency, ſhewing his Majeſty's *Eſpecial Care* of the Proteſtants and their Religion, met with ſuch diſpatch, that in a Month or ſix Weeks time all this was done, and their Eſtates ſeiz'd.

It would be too tedious to enter into the Detail of the Horrid Cruelties and Ravages committed on the Proteſtants of *Ireland* after King *James* came thither. Neither his Royal Word nor the Protection they got from his Generals were ſufficient ſecurity, the *Iriſh* murder'd and deſtroy'd at Pleaſure, and the Credulity of ſuch as truſted to Popiſh Promiſes was a Jeſt to the Papiſts, to inſtance in that *Hamilton* who betray'd Mr. *Temple*, and was upon his coming to *Ireland* made General of the *Iriſh* Army, I have ſeen this Coppy of a Protection granted by him.

I Richard Hamilton, *Lieutenant General of his Majeſty's Forces in* Ulſter, *do hereby receive into his Majeſty's Protection the Body and Goods of* James Hunter *of* Ballymenegh, *in the County of* Antrim, Yeoman, *and do promiſe and oblige my ſelf, that none of*

the Army ſhall moleſt or hurt him, or take any thing from him.

Given under my Hand at the Camp, *March* 27. 1689.

Richard Hamilton.

The poor Protected Man thinking himſelf ſafe in this Paper, returns to his Houſe, which he had left, and follows his Labour; but preſently down came the *Iriſh* upon him, and ſwept all before them. *Hunter* makes his Addreſs to his Protector and receives this cold Comfort, *I did promiſe to protect you from the Army that none of them ſhould offer you any Violence, but I have no Power to reſtrain the Rabble.* It may be objected, that theſe are things could not be help'd. They were not of his doing, it is true, but they durſt not have been done, had it not been with his Permiſſion, and to let the Reader ſee he did himſelf what was as bad as any of his *Iriſh* Officers could do, we need only relate the Story of Monſ. *Rouſſel*, a Perſon of great Fame for his Learning and Integrity, who being Miniſter of *Montpelier* in *France*, when by the *French* King's Edict that Church was demoliſh'd, was from a Principle of Zeal for his Religion, and at the deſire of his People perſwaded to preach in the Night time upon the *Ruines of his Church* to ſome thouſands of wretched Proteſtants his late Flock, for which he was in his Abſence condemn'd by the Super-Intendant of *Languedoc* to be broke Alive upon the Wheel,

Wheel, which Sentence was put in Execution as far as it could be, by hanging him in Effigy, and the most strict Search was made for him through the whole Province. After a thousand Hazards, this Learned Divine got out of *France*, and became Minister of the *French* Church at *Dublin*.

While King *James* was in *England*, he affected a Charitable Disposition towards the *French* Refugees, knowing it would be Popular; but being got into *Ireland* among his *French* and *Irish* Counsellors he had no longer any Temptation to disguise his Natural Temper, and his hatred of the Reformed Religion, which render'd him guilty of an Action his Friends could not excuse from the Imputation of the greatest Cruelty and Breach of Honour; for instead of Protecting a Stranger that had fled his own Country for doing his Duty, and discharging his Conscience, and upon the Security of Law had settled himself in another, he deliver'd up this Reverend Exile, who liv'd Peaceably under his Government, to the Count *d' Avaux*, who sent him in Chains to *France*, to suffer the terrible Punishment to which he was adjudg'd by his Inhumane Persecutors. Nor was this all, for two or three Months before he was driven from *Ireland*, a great number of Protestants of the Province of *Munster*, of all Ranks and Ages were seiz'd by the *French*, forc'd Aboard their Fleet, carry'd to *France*, and there thrown into Dungeons.

After he was expell'd that Kingdom, and return'd to *France*, he form'd a Court at *St. Germain en laye*, where the Proteſtants, who had left every thing to follow his Fortunes, were frown'd upon and neglected. His chief Domeſticks were all Catholicks, as will be ſeen by the following Liſt, one or two only excepted.

The Duke of *Powis*, Lord Chamberlain,
Collonel *Porter*, Vice-Chamberlain,
Collonel *Skelton*, Comptroller,
The Earl of *Dunbarton*, } Lords of the
The Earl of *Abercorne*, } Bed-Chamber.
Capt. *Macdonald* }
Capt. *Beadles*, } Grooms of the Bed-
Capt. *Stafford*, } Chamber.
Capt. *Trevanion*, }
Fergus Graham, Eſq; Privy Purſe,
Edward Sheldon, Eſq;
—— *Sheldon*, Eſq;
Sir *John Sparrow*, } Of the Board
Mr *Strickland*, Vice Chamberlain to the Queen, } of Green-Cloth.
Mr. *Brown*, Brother to the Lord Viſcount *Mountacute*, Secretary of State for *England*.
Sir *Richard Neagle*, Secretary of State for *Ireland*.
Father *Innes*, Preſident of the *Scots* College at *Paris*, Secretary of State for *Scotland*.
John Caryl Eſq;, Secretary to the Queen.
—— *Stafford* Eſq;, formerly Envoy in *Spain*.

Theſe

These five were his *Junto*, his Cabinet Counsellors, the Earl of *Melfort* being sent to *Rome*, not so much in hopes of getting Money from the Pope, as to please the *Irish*, who at that time had monopoliz'd the King's Favour; his Expectation from their Assistance being greater than from both of the other Kingdoms. After the Reduction of *Ireland* and the Suppression of the Rebellion in *Scotland*, many Gentlemen who had not quite abandon'd their Religion, and still call'd themselves Protestants, fled to his Court and form'd a sort of Party there which was soon check'd and abolish'd. The first Tryal they made of their Interest in King *James*, and King *James*'s in the *French* King, was to desire a Chapple for the Exercise of their Worship according to the Church of *England*, proposing Dr. *Granville*, the Earl of *Bath*'s Brother, as a fit Person to be their Chaplain, he having left his Deanery of *Durham*, out of a mistaken Principle of Loyalty. This Affair happen'd much about the time of the dispersing a Book call'd the *Project of Peace*, written by a Person whom the *French* Resident at *Geneva* set to work, and after it was written he sent it to Madam *Maintenon*, who read it to the *French* King, and he having made several Alterations in it, gave Directions for its being printed and dispers't over *Europe*.

In this *Project* he offer'd to give up King *James*'s Pretensions on the foolish Condition of engaging Christian Princes

in another Croisade conquer the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*. He comply'd so far as to consent that the *French* Protestants should enjoy the same Liberty in *France* the Papists did in *Holland*; and to amuse those of the Reform'd Religion at *St. Germains*, who at that time Petition'd for a Chappel, the two Kings in *France* seem'd to hearken to it. However King *James* appear'd more averse to it than King *Lewis* himself, the latter having his own Interests chiefly in View, did not mind what his Abdicated Brother represented to him, *That it was not now worth his while to carry it fair to the Protestants, and that he could never recover his Kingdoms, but by the Help of the Catholicks.*

He was so averse to granting this small Favour to his Church of *England* Subjects, that they were forc'd to send a Gentleman from *St. Germains* to *London*, to treat with the Party there, and particularly with Dr. *Turner* Bishop of *Ely*, to engage him to represent the Matter as of *Absolute Necessity for putting a fair Gloss on King* James's *Intentions towards his Protestant Subjects, whenever they should return to his Obedience*: And they had need of all their Perswasions, for the late Queen *Mary* was not only against allowing this Chappel, but in a Passion told the King her Husband publickly at Dinner, *He would provoke Heaven yet more against him, by tollerating that Heresy in* France, *which for being tollerated in* England *had ruin'd him there.* At last the Bishop of *Ely*'s Letter in the Name of the

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Non-jurors and their Abettors here prevail'd on that Court, and Father *Innes* was employ'd to ſollicit the Affair at that of *Verſailles*. It was referr'd to Monſieur *Louvois*, the Archbiſhop of *Paris*, and Father *La Chaiſe* for form ſake. The *French* Court reſolving at firſt to take hold of that Opportunity, to make *the Project* take the better. The Countenance the Propoſal met with was ſuch, that the Chappel was look'd upon by the People of *St. Germains* as already granted. The Biſhop of *Ely* and the reſt of the Faction thought they had gain'd a great Point. Orders were hourly expected for building the Houſe, and in the mean time for converting an Appartment in the Palace to that uſe. But the *Project* meeting with univerſal Diſlike and Contempt, the *French* King thinking it would do no good to keep longer fair with the Hereticks, came into his Brother King *James*'s Sentiments, and a Chappel was poſitively refus'd. In conſequence of which, Dr. *Granville* was oblig'd not only to retire from the Court, but alſo from the Town of *St. Germains*, to avoid the daily Inſults of the Prieſts, and the dreadful Effects of the Jealouſies with which they poſſeſt King *James*'s Courtiers againſt him. The only Proteſtant Divine that remain'd there, was Dr. *Gordon* a *Scotch* Biſhop, who met with a worſe Treatment than the other, and was reduc'd to the neceſſity of Abjuring his Religion for Bread, with which he could not be ſupply'd but upon thoſe

hard Terms. The King being at last sensible that this Behaviour of his to good *Church-men*, might prejudice his Interest in *Britain*, resolv'd to prevent the coming of any Protestant Divines to *St. Germains*, and therefore sent Major *Scot* and Mr. *Macqueen* to *England*, to let his Friends know he desir'd no such Company, and order'd them to make use of other Messengers. The Affairs of State, as has been said, were mang'd by a Cabinet Council, consisting of Mr. *Brown*, Father *Innes*, Sir *Richard Neagle*, Mr. *Caryl*, and Mr. *Stafford*, all Papists. When the Church of *England* Men saw they could not carry the Point of the Chappel, they made a second Effort to procure, that at least one of the five might be of their own Religion; they insisted on the Advantages which might thence redound to his Majesty's Affairs in *Britain*, and earnestly recommended Sir *Edward Herbert*, as a Person well qualify'd to advise as to *English* Affairs. The Reasons they gave for it were so strong, that to prevent their succeeding, the Comptroller *Skelton* and Sir *William Sharp* accus'd Sir *Edward* of saying, *King* James's *violent Temper would ruin himself and all that follow'd him*, which Words Sir *Edward Herbert* frankly confess'd, but made so Ingenious an Explanation of his Meaning in relation to the Act of Settlement in *Ireland*, that King *James* was satisfy'd.

This enrag'd the *Irish* Party in the Court still more, and they contriv'd another Plot against him, charging him with Correspondence

dence with the *Engliſh*, and miſrepreſenting the Actions of that Court; upon which he and an *Engliſh* Lady were confin'd, and *Bromfield* a *Quaker-Refugee* at *St. Germains* ſent to the *Baſtile*. Sir *Edward*'s Misfortunes did not put an end to thoſe of the Proteſtants with their Abdicated King. Mr. *Cockburn* a *Scotch* Gentleman, who had follow'd that Prince to *Ireland*, and was taken at Sea after the Battel of the *Boyne*, being ſent Priſoner to *London*, on a Propoſal of exchanging him for Captain *St. Lo*, then Priſoner in *France*, he was enlarg'd. During his ſtay at *London* he ſo ingratiated himſelf with the *Non-jurors*, that he was recommended by them to King *James*, as a very proper Perſon to ſerve him in Matters of the greateſt Importance. When he arriv'd at *St. Germains*, he told the King his Friends in *England* were of Opinion, that things would never go well as long as the Earl of *Melfort*, who was then return'd from *Rome*, had a Hand in them, and that the beſt way to procure the Affection of his *Britiſh* Subjects would be to employ Proteſtants. This was the Inſtruction he had from the Party in *England*, and for this Mr. *Cockburn* a few Days after his Arrival, was commanded by the *French* Court to leave *France* under ſevere Penalties, which being forc'd to do, he liv'd afterwards in Poverty in *Holland* and *Hamburgh*.

The Submiſſion of the *Scotch Highlanders* affords us more convincing Proofs of King *James*'s Hatred to the Proteſtant Religion, and

and his Ingratitude to ſuch who had ſacrific'd their all to ſupport his ſinking Fortune in *Scotland*. The Earl of *Dumferling*, the Viſcount *Dundee*, Son of him who was kill'd, the Lord *Dunkel*, Collonel *Canon*, Collonel *Graham*, and ſeveral other Proteſtants who had forfeited their Eſtates, retir'd into *France*, as did alſo Collonel *Buchan*, Collonel *Maxwel*, Collonel *Wauchop* and ſome other Popiſh Gentlemen; but when they came to *St. Germains*, the Papiſts were immediately prefer'd to conſiderable Poſts both in the *French* and *Iriſh* Armies, while the Proteſtants, tho' their Merit was greater, were expos'd to all imaginable Hardſhips and Contempts. The Earl of *Dumferling* and Collonel *Canon* are too illuſtrious Examples of King *James*'s Inveteracy againſt the Proteſtant Religion, and Ingratitude to Proteſtants, to be here paſt by. The Earl through a falſe Notion of Loyalty and Honour, had left his Noble Family and large Fortune to follow that Prince in his Exile; yet happening to quarrel at *St. Germains* with one Captain *Brown* a Papiſt, about a Trifle, the Captain was encourag'd and countenanc'd in it by the Court, and made Commander of a Company of *Scotch* Reformed Officers in *Catalonia*, while my Lord liv'd in Contempt, purely on account of his Religion, which ill Treatment broke his Heart, and he ſunk under the weight of his hard Fate at *St. Germains*. He was deny'd Chriſtian Burial after he was dead, and his Friends were forc'd to hide his

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Corps in a Chamber, till an Opportunity was found of digging a Hole in the Fields in the Night, in which they were glad to depoſite it, for fear of worſe Uſage. Colonel *Canon*'s Sufferings are equal to the Earls; He was General of King *James*'s Army in *Scotland*, and ſerv'd him ſo faithfully, every Body expected he would be rewarded with ſome Great Command upon his Arrival at St. *Germains*; but he poſitively refuſing to abandon the little Religion he had, was reduc'd to the Scandalous Allowance of Half a Crown a Day, while *Papiſts* who had ſerv'd him, were prefer'd to good Poſts. This unhappy Gentleman finding himſelf thus neglected, took it ſo much to Heart, that he Dy'd of Grief and Want, having taken the Sacrament from the Hands of Doctor *Granvile*, two Days before his Death; but a Prieſt who would not ſtir from him when he was Dying, thruſt a Wafer down his Throat when he was Speechleſs; and to have the Merit of his Converſion, gave out he Dy'd a Catholick, which got him the Favour of Burial, or his Corps had far'd as did the Earl of *Dumferlings*.

I am ſatisfy'd the little Paſſages relating to the Hiſtory of the Court of St. *Germains*, of which we know ſo little, muſt be as entertaining to the *Reader*, as they were to me, or I ſhould not have repeated them. They Paint in Lively Colours, the Gratitude of a Court, which too many of us are more fond of now 'tis at the loweſt Ebb of its Fortune, than when the

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Conſpiracies of the Murmurers in *England*, and the Succeſs of the *French* Arms, made their Condition not quite ſo deſperate. We ſee by this, what are the Sentiments the Late Queen has Educated Her *Pretended Son* in of us and our Church, and how vain it is for any Good Church-Man, tho' a Thouſand *French* Oaths were on their ſide, to flatter themſelves that a Prince thus bred, can be Kind to a Church, which has never been repreſented to him but as a Nurſery of Hereſy and Rebellion. There remains two or three Inſtances more, of the Conduct of the *Abdicated Court* towards Proteſtants, which the Curious cannot but be diverted with, tho' they had no ſuch Concern upon them, as gave Occaſion to this *Hiſtory*.

It is well known that Sir *James Montgomery* was indefatigable in his Endeavours, to re-eſtabliſh King *James* in *Scotland*, by the ſame Parliament that declar'd him to have forfeited his Right. He was after that for ſeveral Years, his moſt Active Miniſter in *England*; He wrote and publiſh'd that Declaration in his Name, which was to have attended the *La Hogue* Invaſion, and afterwards another Treaſonable Pamphlet, Entitul'd, *Britain's Juſt Complaints*. In a word, he was his conſtant Champion on all Occaſions, always drawing his Pen in his Quarrel, and ready always to do the ſame with his Sword: Yet this very Sir *James Montgomery*, who had done ſuch great things, and run ſuch hazard

hazard for him, being oblig'd to fly to *France*, having escap'd from a Messenger, could not obtain any Share in that Prince's good Graces, meerly because he was a *Staunch Church-Man*. He was Brow-beaten by the Court Priests, upbraided every Day with having been once in the Prince of *Orange's* Interest, and at last forc'd to retire to *Paris*, where he dy'd neglected, with the Melancholly Reflection of the miserable State he had brought himself into. Nor was it only enough to be a Protestant, to acquire the Displeasure of the St. *Germains* Court, to shew the least Inclination to the *British* Constitution, and preserving the Liberties of the People, was as sure a way to Disgrace, as the Earl of *Lauderdale* a Papist, found to his Cost. 'Tis true his Lady was of the Reform'd Religion, and that added to his Guilt, which was his being an Enemy to the King's Violent Measures. For this reason he never was trusted with any Post. As much a *Catholick* as he was, he heartily advis'd King *James* to let the Protestants have the Administration of his small Government; recommending the Earl of *C————n* and the Nonjuring Bishops as the fittest to serve him in *England*, and the Lord *Hume*, *Southesk* and *Sinclair*, in *Scotland*; but his Advice was so ill taken, that he was enjoyn'd to send his Lady to *England*, to return thence no more; was himself forbid the Court, and reduc'd to a Pension of 100 Pistoles a Year. Not long after, he dy'd of Grief at *Paris*, seeing

ing no Probability of his Master's changing his Measures. His Brother, Mr. *Alexander Maitland*, had on several Occasions behav'd himself very bravely in that Prince's Service; he had also deserted King *William*'s, under whom he had a Command once in the *Scots* Guards, but coming to St. *Germains*, and being suffer'd to starve, he chose rather to make his Peace with an Offended Government, than live in the Contempt of an ungrateful one. Of this kind, was the Treatment Sir *Andrew Forrester* met with; that Gentleman was always zealously attach'd to the Duke of *York*'s Interest when a Subject, and when a King; he was the Devoted Creature of his Pleasure; he was Imprison'd in this *Tower*, for the Plot that was carrying on to favour his Invasion 1692. Yet notwithstanding this, and the great Experience he had in *Scotish* Affairs, he could never obtain any share in that Prince's Confidence. Upon his Arrival at St. *Germains*, he found that all his Merits and Sufferings were not a Counterballance to the Objection of his being a Protestant. He was not intrusted, and after a vain Attendance on that Court, for some Trifling Employment, the best Reward he could get, was a Pass to return to *England*, they having no occasion of him there. Sir *Theophilus Oglethorp*, who had been very serviceable to the Duke of *York*, before his Accession to the Throne, who by means of his Wife, a Servant to one of King *Charles*'s Popish Mistresses, had the

Honour

Honour of being made one of the Tools to advance *Arbitrary Power* in that King's Time, who had ſhewn himſelf ſo Zealous for the Father, that he forgot good Manners, and affronted the Daughter by *Cocking* as She came by, when Queen, in the *Mall*; who had been in every Plot ſince his Old Maſter went to *France*, to facilitate his Return; yet his Uſage was ſo little anſwerable to his Deſert and Expectation, that he was glad to get Home to *Old England*, and ſubmit to that Government, whoſe Lenity to ſuch Offenders, increas'd their Number. Mr. *Fergus Grahme*, Brother to Coll. *Grahme*, as well as to the Lord *Preſton*, who was Condemn'd for Treaſon againſt King *William*, for no other Reaſon but his being a Church-Man, was diſmiſt the Court of St. *Germains*. Sir *William Sharp*, tho' he pretended to leave that Court, to ſave his Eſtate, purſuant to an Act of Parliament in *Scotland*, yet in Truth it was their Ingratitude to him, which occaſion'd it; for falling under Diſtruſt with *Melfort* and *Innes*, he grew into Contempt: His Penſion allow'd him while the *Scots* Rebellion laſted, was taken from him, and becauſe he would not quit his Religion, he was forc'd to quit *France*, and throw himſelf on the Mercy of his Lawful Sovereigns. The Uſage of Dr. *Cockburn*, a *Scots* Divine, is beyond any thing that can be imagin'd; He was baniſh'd *Scotland* for Treaſonable Practices, and forc'd to fly from *England*, for writing Libels againſt the

the State. He thought to have found an Asylum at St. *Germains*, if not a Recompence; but instead of this, he was perpetually teaz'd by the Priests to change his Religion, and when they could not prevail, they represented him as a dangerous Person, and got him sent from *France*, whence he retir'd to *Holland*, and there Liv'd in Want and Misery. Mrs. *Ashton*, whose Husband was Hang'd, Drawn and Quarter'd, for Plotting against K. *William*, might, one would think, have expected more Favour; but as soon as She came to St. *Germains*, Priests were sent to tell her, that nothing but being a *Roman Catholick*, could recommend a Woman to the Queen's Service, which the Unfortunate Widow declining to do, no Notice was taken of her; and She Dying of Grief, was refus'd Burial, till her Father, Mr. *Rigby*, of *Covent-Garden*, as an Act of Special Grace, and at great Charge, obtain'd Leave to have Her Body brought over into *England*. What need of any more Instances, to prove King *James*'s Incurable Aversion to our Church, and all Church-Men; else I might Name the Lord *Henmore*, Mr. *Louthian*, Capt. *Murray*, Capt. *Dalgel*, Capt. *Maygil*, Capt. *Maclean*, Capt. *Fielding*, Mr. *Kinnaird*, and several Hundreds more, who left the Court of St. *Germains*, because they could not have Bread, unless they would change their Religion; and rather chose to run the Hazard of Imprisonment in *England*, than stay and starve in *France*. The Earl of

of *Middleton* having the greateſt Intereſt of any of King *James*'s Followers in the Friends they left here, the King carry'd it the moſt kindly to him, and ſeem'd to have ſome Confidence in him. However, he was never Prime Miniſter as *Melfort* was, nor had any Concern in the Management of Affairs between *Verſailles* and St. *Germains*, that being done by *Innes* and *Porter*. He was ſeldom call'd to Council, and the *French* Court never depended on his Correſpondence. He always declar'd againſt reſtoring King *James* by a *French* Power, wiſely and honeſtly conſidering, that it would be to reduce *Britain* to the State of being a Province to *France*: For which he ſo incurr'd the Diſpleaſure of that Court, that he was at laſt abridg'd of his Penſion; and to gain a ſorry Subſiſtance, oblig'd to abandon that Religion, which had till then, been the occaſion of his Misfortunes. The worſt of it all was, his Converſion was never thought Sincere, and he could not get above 500 Crowns Yearly for his Maintenance. A Poor Bargain he made, and his Unhappy Life and Death ſhew what thoſe may expect, who place their Hopes in the Eſtabliſhment of *Popery* and *Tyranny*, the ſure Companions of the *Pretender*.

It may perhaps be objected, that from King *James*'s Behaviour to the Proteſtants at St. *Germains*, it is not reaſonable to conclude, he would not have been more kind to them, had he been his own Maſter; but being himſelf a Refugee in *France*, and

having nothing else to live upon but the *French* King's Pension, he could not do otherwise, for fear of giving Offence to his *Great Protector*. Now that this Carriage of his was agreeable to his Temper, and his Invincible Hatred to the Protestant Religion and Liberty, may be seen by his Declarations Publish'd in *France*, upon his design'd Invasions of *England*: The most remarkable of that kind, was the Papers dispers't about, when he lay ready to Embark at *La Hogue*, and had brought over a *French* Army to Conquer us, had not Admiral *Russel* prevented it, by beating the *French* Fleet. In that Paper, he owns no Illegalities in the whole Course of his Reign: The only thing he appeals to, is the Justice of his Cause, for he says, *He does not think himself oblig'd to say any thing more on this Occasion, than that he comes to assert his own Just Right.* He did not think fit to offer the least Satisfaction for the Faults committed by him in his past Conduct, nor to give Hopes of better for the future. He restor'd the *London*, and other Charters; He dissolv'd the Ecclesiastical Commission Court; He annull'd the Proceedings against *Magdalen* College, but would never own those Proceedings were unlawful; He would never renounce his Dispencing Power. In his Behaviour upon, and after the *Revolution*, all his Actions shew'd he was resolv'd not to Govern us according to our Constitution, but to Erect a Dispotick Government; and this Resolution no

no Suffering, no Disgrace cou'd Break. He was the same at St. *Germains*, as at *Whitehal*; and indeed it had been a Wonder, if the Advice and Instruction of the *French* King had made him better. His Love to the *True Sons of the Church*, appears in the List of the Persons he excepted from Pardon, and doom'd to Gibbits and Scaffolds, as these particularly now Living,

Duke of *Ormond*,	Marq. of *Carmarthen*,
Duke of *Leeds*,	Bishop of *London*,
Earl of *Nottingham*,	Sir *John Worden*,
Earl *Rivers*,	Sir *Stephen Fox*, &c.
Earl of *Clarendon*,	

Not to mention the Duke of *Bolton* the Earl of *Sunderland*, the Earl of *Bath*, the Bishop of St. *Asaph*, the Earl of *Warrington*, the present Duke of *Bolton*, the Bishop of *Worcester*, the Duke of *Marlborough*, Sir *James Oxenden*, Sir *Charles Duncomb*, and others, as well Living as Dead, who were destin'd to Axes, had that Invasion succeeded; it not being in King *James*'s Nature to be softned by good Fortune or bad; His Memory descending to the Dregs of the People, when his Revenge was in view, witness his inserting *Edwards*, *Stapleton* and *Hunt*, who not knowing him, us'd him roughly when he was taken at *Feversham*. A Prince of this Disposition and Religion, must have made a rare King for *England*, and how we should be blest with his Pretended Heir, who never knew as the

Father had done, that in some Countries the Law is superior to the Prince, we may guess by these Instances of his Carriage to his *Protestant Friends*, who out of an excess of Loyalty, were willing to have Liv'd miserably with him, if he would but have done for them what he cou'd; which how he did, the preceeding *Pages* set forth.

The next and last Head of this Treatise, is the Behaviour of the *French* Faction, usurping the Name of the *True Church*, towards K. *William* and Q. *Mary*; their Plots against their Persons and Government; in which will be seen how much these Men value the Safety of our Church, and the Peace of the Kingdom; how much Conscience was concern'd, in their refusing to take the Oaths to a Prince, whom they would basely have Murther'd: What a Share the Love of their Country had in their Conspiracies, which tended all to betray it to *France*, where those Conspiracies were always either contriv'd or directed, that Court being so base, as to engage in the most Bloody of them, to carry on their own Ambitious Projects, as will be shewn in the sequel of this History. As soon as the Throne was declar'd vacant, and fill'd with K. *William*, some of the greatest Sticklers for the *Revolution*, fell off from those Principles, and espous'd those that had occasion'd it. The Clergy, I desire to be understood when I name them thus in General, to mean only the *Nonjurors* and their *Abettors*, as *Sach---l*, *Higg---s*, &c. began their Opposition to the

the Government, by writing againſt it, by raiſing a Fooliſh Diſtinction of *De Facto* and *De Jure*, by mocking God in their Pulpits, and praying for King *James* and his Queen *Mary*, uſing general Terms the *King* and *Queen*, when the Law enjoyn'd them to Name King *William* and Queen *Mary*; by making a Schiſm in the Church, and forming a New Liturgy. In which, among other ſuch Holy Collects, is this, *Reſtore us again the Publick Worſhip of thy Name, the Reverend Adminiſtrations of thy Sacraments, raiſe up the former Government both in Church and State, that we may be no longer without King, without Prieſt, and without God in the World.* Their Prayer for King *James*, is of the ſame Spirit and Sanctity, and ſuch as makes me hope, tho' it was made at *Lambeth*, that Arch-Biſhop *Sancroft* had no hand in it, the Man being more a Chriſtian in all the other Parts of his Life, than to conſent to ſo Wicked a Profanation of the Church Service, as mingling theſe Horrid Execrations with Her Pure Worſhip. The Prayer is as follows.

SEND forth thy Light and thy Truth, and let them preſerve us. Protect and defend our Soveraign Lord the King. O prepare thy Loving Mercy and Faithfulneſs, that they may preſerve him. Strengthen his Hands, and the Hands of all that are put in Authority under him, with Judgment and Juſtice, to cut off all ſuch Workers of Iniquity, as turn Religion into Rebellion, and Faith into Faction, that they may

never prevail against us, or Triumph in the Ruin of thy Church among us. To this end, defend the King, bind up his Soul in the Bundle of Life, and let no Weapon form'd against him prosper. Be unto him a Helmet of Salvation, and a strong Tower of Defence against the Face of his Enemies. Let his Reign be Prosperous, and his Days many; make him glad according to the Days wherein thou hast afflicted him, and for the Years wherein thou hast made him suffer Adversity. Give him the Necks of his Enemies, and also every Day more and more the Hearts of his Subjects. As for those that are implacable, cloath them with Shame, but upon himself and his Posterity, let the Crown flourish.

About 10000 of this New Liturgy were Printed and dispersed by the Faction; it was us'd daily in their Conventicles, and a great part of the Old Service, sometimes all, laid aside. By these detestable Means, were unthinking Wretches set against the Government, which they were taught was Usurpation, and the Constitution a Rebellion. The Hot Men of them were animated in the carrying on Designs to destroy it; Money was Levy'd to maintain a great many of King *James*'s Officers who lurkt about *London*, to take hold of the first Opportunity of a Rising, which was thought to have offer'd with most Prospect of Success, in the Year 1690. when King *William* was going upon his Expedition into *Ireland*, and they were in expectation of a *French* Army to secure the Protestant Church of *England*, which was

was pretended to be in as much Danger, as when *Sacheverel* was Condemn'd. Before His Majesty went for *Ireland*, one *Jones* was employ'd to Assassinate him, and that Assassin not being able to accomplish his Design in *England*, follow'd the King to *Ireland*, on the same Accurs'd Design, as appear'd by an intercepted Letter to the Late Queen *Mary* in *France*, from *Tyrconnel*, and other Letters found at *Dublin*, when that City was recover'd from the *Irish*. By whom this Villain was chiefly set to work to perpetrate so fatal a Blow, is not come to Light; but that he was to do it, and that *Tyrconnel* kept Correspondence about it with *France*, is too well known, by Letters under his own Hand, to need further Proof. It is certain *Tyrconnel*, and the *French* Generals, plac'd their last Hopes in that Assassin's Undertaking. In a Letter about that Time, intercepted from *Tyrconnel* at *Ardee*, to the Late Queen *Mary*, he gave her a very melancholly Account of their Affairs, tells Her, *The Enemy was* 40000 *strong, and furnish'd with all Things necessary. That the King* (meaning King *James*) *was for Fighting, but he himself was against it*; and he concluded, *That notwithstanding all Her Care of their Affairs, he had now no Hopes but in* Jones's *Negotiation*. The Conspirators sent a Memorial to the *French* King, to invite him to send a Fleet and Army to their Assistance, in the Name of the *Loyal and Distrest Subjects of* England, which being too long to be inserted here at length,

I ſhall only hint ſome Remarkable Paſſages of it. They themſelves acknowledge the League between the *French* King and King *James*, where they tell King *Lewis*, *It is in your Royal Arms and Bounty we propoſe our Hope and Confidence, and expect to ſee our Lawful King, Your Antient Friend and Ally, reſtor'd to the Rightful Throne of his Anceſtors, out of which, wicked Men have thruſt him.* They go on with their Inſtances, by telling him how happily ſuch an Enterprize would be then tim'd, and what he ſhould do to effect it. *The Prince of* Orange *the Uſurper*, ſays theſe Churchmen as they call'd themſelves, *is juſt now on his Journey to* Ireland, *and being once arriv'd in that Kingdom, if your Majeſty's Fleet were able to block up St.* George's *Channel, the Uſurper's Army would certainly be Starv'd. His Regiments in* England, *ſerve more out of Neceſſity and Fear, than any Love to him; and thoſe Forces ſo few, they are ſcarce able to keep the uſual Guard. The* Engliſh *Fleet is ſo divided, they cannot this Year make a conſiderable Figure,* Killigrew *is in the Straits,* Shovel *in St.* George's *Channel, the* Dutch *Squadron not ready, the* Engliſh *Ships ill Mann'd, the Seamen diſcontented for want of Pay*, &c. It was ſaid by the Faction, this Memorial was not Genuine, and good Reaſon they had to decry it, when the Nation had been ſo terribly alarm'd by the Succeſs of the *French* at *Beachy-Head*; but it is moſt certain, that at that time, theſe very good Proteſtants did invite the Moſt Chriſtian King to Invade theſe Kingdoms. The

French

French, who never car'd how they expos'd their Friends in *England*, if it answer'd their Ends, own'd publickly. The Sum of this Memorial was in all their Panegyricks on their King's great Victories by Sea and Land. There was scarce one of them but told him, *His Glorious and Invincible Arms, were the only Sanctuary of the Oppreſs'd* Engliſh; *that his Royal Ear had been open to the Groans and Cryes of that Nation, and he had now rais'd himſelf up to give them an Anſwer to their Prayers.* Monſieur *De Meſme*, a Councellor of State, and Nephew to the Count *D' Avaux*, ſays plainly, in an Oration pronounc'd before the Academy of *Paris*, *Even the* Engliſh *Huguenots themſelves, tho' they know the Averſion our Royal Monarch has to their Religion, have addreſs'd their Prayers to him, as the alone Sanctuary of the Oppreſs'd.* And the Cardinal *De Bouillon*, in a Memorial he deliver'd to the Court of *Rome*, concerning his Maſter the *French* King's Proceedings with the Duke of *Savoy*, very frankly told his Holineſs, that *Lewis* the *Great was Neceſſitated to demand Securities from the Duke of* Savoy, *that he might not leave a Gap open to his Enemies on that ſide, at a Time when he was to ſend ſo great a Part of his Force towards* Britain, *to which he was oblig'd, not only from the Alliance between Him and his* Britannick *Majeſty, but likewiſe from the reiterated Prayers of that King's Subjects, of both Religions.* Nor was this the only Imitation of the Faction they had drawn up for the *French* King; another Scheme was

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propos'd a few Months after, and Letters intercepted of *Turner*, Bish. of *Ely*'s, wherein it was said, *He spoke in the Plural, because he wrote his Elder Brother's Sentiments as well as his own, and the rest of the Family.* Again, *Their Young Master has all their best Wishes*, and the extravagance of his Zeal is such at last, that it transports him to Atheism. *He is no more capable of Swerving from his Duty to the late Queen, than he is of renouncing his Hopes to Heaven.* This Scheme was to have been carry'd to *France* by *Ashton*, and the Lord *Preston*, who both receiv'd Sentence of Death for their Treason; the former when he was Executed, was pleas'd to declare, *He Dy'd in the Communion of the Church of* England, *according to whose Principles, and late much Esteem'd Doctrines, (tho' then unhappily exploded, he had regulated his Life, believing himself oblig'd by his Religion, to look upon his Rightful Lawful Prince, (whatever his Principles were, or his Practices might be) as God's Vicegerent, and accountable if Guilty of Male-Administration to God only, from whom he received his Power; and always believing it to be contrary to the Laws of God, the Church and the Realm, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take up Arms against him*; which Paragraph so agreeable to certain Addresses, and the 12th of *Charles* the Second, he crowns with this Solemn Attestation.

Let all the World take Notice in this Belief I Dye.

He

He Dy'd in the Belief, that the Church of *England* Principles juſtify'd his carrying to *France*, a Treaſonable Scheme and Project of an Invaſion, in order to the depoſing his Rightful and Lawful Sovereigns, King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and to the ſetting up an Arbitrary Popiſh Government, to the Deſtruction of our Religion and Liberties. This is the Foundation of all the Arguments urg'd by ſome Men at this time, againſt *Revolution Principles*; and if thoſe Arguments form'd, as they are of Nonſenſe and Contradiction, go for any thing, Mr. *Aſhton* was a Martyr, and King *William* an Uſurper. The reſt I leave to thoſe Worthy Gentlemen to determine themſelves; the Conſequence is too Treaſonable for my Pen, which has always been employ'd in aſſerting their Late Majeſties King *William* and Queen *Mary*'s, and Her Preſent Majeſty Queen *Anne*'s Rightful and Lawful Title to the Crown, as ſettled upon the Foot of the *Revolution*, in oppoſition to the Pretences of King *James*, and his Suppoſitious Heir. It is obſervable, that moſt of theſe Conſpiracies were attended with an Aſſaſſination-Plot. That of the Invaſion, and this of the Scheme, had that Black Incident in them; of the latter eſpecially, an Ingenious and Learned Gentleman, wrote thus at the Time of its Diſcovery. "When we reflect upon the Horrid "Methods put in Practice by this Em-"broiler of *Chriſtendom*, to rid himſelf of "thoſe he fears, there are to be found in

"all

" all the Steps of an Illuſtrious Life,
" ſome brighteſt Rays of a Benign Provi-
" dence, that in a ſpecial manner watches
" over Kings. If a certain Great Man
" had not of late in their Majeſties own
" hearing, given a Hint of a ſingular
" Piece of Villany, deſign'd againſt this
" Wonderful Life, I ſhould not have
" ventur'd to have mention'd it here,
" tho' acquainted with it before. Yet to
" the Cruel Infamy of the *Apollyon* of
" *Europe* be it ſaid, that Sacred Life was
" in equal Hazard from the Cannon, and
" from the Poinard, and from a Poinard
" employ'd and paid by *France*. What
" all the Engines of Death were not able
" to do in the Field, was to be ſupply'd
" by the Hand of an Aſſaſſinate at Home.
The Duke of *Lorrain* had been ſent out of the World, by the Treacherous Practices of the ſame Prince, their Common Enemy, and a like Attempt made on the Life of the King of *Poland*. I know the Lives of Kings and Princes are always thought to be taken off by Uncommon Means, and Poiſon is the Death that's generally decreed them; but in this Caſe I'm afraid, there's more than Suſpicion; and from the Cruelty and Cowardice of the Man, there's nothing ſo Baſe and Bloody, which I can't believe of him. However, not to leave the *Reader* to my Belief only, I ſhall give him the very Words of the Author I laſt mentioned on this Subject.
" If there be any Knowledge of Humane
" Affairs in another World, let the Manes

" of the Illustrious Duke of *Lorrain*, rest
" satisfy'd with the approaching Revenge
" of a Prince his Friend, upon their Com-
" mon Enemy, that had doom'd them
" both, tho' with different Success, to the
" same Dismal Fate. *Again*, Of all the
" Discoveries that ever was made, none
" has been laid open with greater Force
" of Demonstration, than that of a De-
" sign to Poison the present King of *Po-*
" *land* not long ago. I would fain know
" how Monsieur *Pelisson* and Monsieur
" *Boileau* will manage themselves, when
" they come to that part of the History
" of *Lewis Le Grand*, and with what Co-
" lours they will varnish over this Master-
" Piece of Villany. How extraordinary
" a Part of his Panegyrick, must the Con-
" fession of the Great Treasurer of *Poland*
" make up, and how greatly must it tend
" to the Eternal Glory of the Invincible
" Monarch, to see the Annals of this
" Age, swell'd up with the *Orders*, *En-*
" *couragement* and *Plan* of Poisoning a King,
" not yet fully out of the *French* Interest,
" meerly least he should turn about to
" that of the Empire. It would be worth
" the while, to place on the other *Page*
" of the late Blasphemous Panegyricks
" upon *Lewis* XIV. the Confession of the
" Grand Treasurer of *Poland*, of his Se-
" cretary, and of the Apothecary be-
" longing to the *French* Ambassador, all
" of them concern'd in this *Poisoning Plot*,
" and all of them agreeing in their Testi-
" mony, *That they were set to Work by the*

" *Emis-*

" *Emiſſaries of* France. How fine a Scene " of Hiſtory muſt the Letters make us, " that were found in the Lodgings of " the Ambaſſador of *France* at *Warſaw*. The Friendſhip between K. *William* and the Duke of *Lorrain*, might probably be one Motive of the Attempt againſt the Duke's Life, at the ſame Time that the King's was to be taken away by Treaſon. I am ſo Conſcious of the Charge of Credulity, which may be brought againſt me, for giving into the Common Jealouſy of Princes dying by Poiſon, that I ſhall ſay nothing of my own, with relation to the Death of the Duke of *Lorrain*, but take a State of it from the worthy Author I laſt made uſe of, the ſame who in his *Memoirs*, gives ſo fair a Repreſentation of the Caſe of King *Charles* II. as to his being *Poiſon'd*, or *Not Poiſon'd*. *I am not Ignorant* ſays he, *of the famous Expreſſion of the Hiſtorian*, That the ſudden Deaths of the Great, are always ready to be imputed to Poiſon, *But God forgive me, if I be unjuſt to any Body, when I ſay it is my Opinion*, That the Duke of *Lorrain* was ſent to his Grave by Treachery. *We all know a certain Power in* Europe, *that never hitherto ſtuck at any thing to promote either its own Intereſt, or prejudice that of others. And a Wiſe Council could not but know, that the Life of this Prince was an Irreſiſtable Barrier to the growing Greatneſs of that Crown, and that the very Terror of his Name was ſufficient to ſtun the Courage of its Forces, when call'd to Fight againſt an Army that had ſo redoubted*

a General at their Head; tho' France had by Secret Practices, put a ſtop to the Career of ſo many Glories, acquir'd by this their irreconcileable Enemy, juſt at a Time when he was bringing Fire and Sword into the Heart of their Country, upon the Head of an Army glutted with Victories, it had been but of a Piece with their other Actions theſe Thirty Years paſt. And which is more, if they had not done it, I would have thought Lewis XIV. *had committed the greateſt of Miſtakes, in his* wonted Thread of Politicks, *over and above the Time and Circumſtances of this Prince's Death, which render it very Suſpicious. There are two other Things remarkable about it, which do add mightily to the Suſpicion. The firſt is this: That Illuſtrious Perſon, in one of the Two Letters he wrote to the Emperor the Day he Dy'd, gave a clear Hint of his Jealouſy that he was Poiſon'd, in the following Expreſſions, which the Emperor has been pleas'd often to repeat in Publick.* I am Dying, *ſays the Duke of* Lorrain, whether as a Juſt Tribute to Nature, or as a Sacrifice to the Ambitious and Unjuſt Deſigns of a Crown, that has always been an Enemy of my Family, I know not. *It is known that the Death of the Duke of* Lorrain *was Printed abroad in ſeveral Parts of* France, *Two Weeks before it happen'd, and with almoſt the very ſame Circumſtances that after attended it. Such a Previous Rumour of a Prince's Death, has been always eſteem'd a Pregnant Ground* of Foul Play *done them. And in the Caſe before us, it has the greater Force, conſidering that in* January *laſt, an Eminent Miniſter of*

France

France was pleas'd to lay a Thousand Pistoles, that the Duke of Lorrain should never Head the Imperial Army another Year; and that at Strasburg, a Fortnight before his Death, there was an Astrological Scheme publickly expos'd in the Jesuits Schools, Calculating his Death to fall out within Three Weeks. I have a greater Value for the Learning of that Order, than to think they did really lay any Weight on Astrology, in so narrow a Point as Three Weeks Time, and am afraid this Prediction of the Stars, was of a Piece with that of the Jesuits of La Fleshe, before the Murther of Henry IV. of France, who being question'd how they came to know of it before it was done, answer'd, They knew of it by the Rules of Astrology. Whereas it was afterwards known, that they had at least incouraged the Parricide Raviliac to the Act, and had given him Absolution before-hand. In a Letter I received a few Weeks ago from a Learned Person, that is Professor at Leipsick, He tells me, The Physitians sent by the Emperor to view that Prince's Body, found such Signs of Malignity in it, as nothing but Poison, cou'd in their Opinion, have produc'd. And after the Enumeration of the Symptoms, my Learned Friend adds, Omnia hæc raro si unquam in uno Cadavere reperta, si non Supereminenti Veneni virulentiæ attribuenda sint. All these rarely, or never have been found in any one Human Body, if they may not be attributed to a Supereminent Virulence of Poison. This Manner of treating the Duke of Lorrain, seems to me the less strange, if it be true what

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we find asserted by several Authors of late, of unquestionable Veracity, with a Relation to the Design of Poisoning the present Emperor, *about Sixteen Months ago. I would not Name it, if it had not made a considerable Noise at* Vienna, *and if the Emperor had not from his Ordinary Zeal to the* Jesuit's Order, *taken considerable Pains to crush the Report of it. But since I am not very Ambitious to be a* Newsmonger, *I refer the Reader to the full Account of this Affair, as it is written by one of the best Pens in* Europe, *in a Book I have left with the* Stationer *for that Purpose.* Who was the Assassin that the Faction had hir'd to Murder his Majesty in *England*, the Author does not tell us, probably it was *Parker*, who was then employ'd by Monsieur *Louvois*, the *French* King's Prime Minister, and afterwards by his Son Monsieur *Barbesieux*, in the same Conspiracy with Monsieur *Grandval*, and other Assassines to Shoot the King in *Flanders*. The Story of which, is this, Monsieur *Louvois* left the Plan of this Inglorious Design in Writing, Seal'd up in his Cabinet, and his Son who succeeded him in the Ministry, carry'd it on by *Grandval*, *Du Mont* and *Parker*, impowering *Grandval* to promise *Du Mont* 20000 Livres of Estate, and a Knighthood of St. *Lazar*, himself being to be made a Duke, and to have an Estate proportionable, if the Blow succeeded. The manner in which the Assassination should be done, was concerted at a Meeting of all the Conspirators, as the Marquis *De Barbesieux*,

Madam *Maintenon*, Monsieur *Pontchartrain*, Pay-Master General of the *French* Army, Monsieur *Grandval*, Monsieur *Du Mont*, and Collonel *Parker*. *Du Mont*, after having enter'd himself in the Confederate Army, was to take his Opportunity when His Majesty visited the Grand Guard, or the Lines, to Shoot him behind his Back, *Grandval* and *Parker* were upon a Previous Intimation to have a Body of Horse in readiness to rescue him, and bring him off. Accordingly *Du Mont* went to the Confederate Army in the Year 1691. and *Parker* and *Grandval* to the *French*, where they waited with Impatience at the Grand Guard, Night and Day, to hear from *Du Mont*, whose Heart failing him, he retir'd to the Court of *Hanover*. *Grandval* and *Parker* return'd to *Paris*, and are again set to work by *Barbesieux*, and the rest of the Conspirators, among whom, Monsieur *Chanlais*, Quarter-Master General to the *French* Army, then first appear'd, as also a new Assassin, engag'd by *Grandval*, Monsieur *Leesdale*, formerly a Horse-Officer in the States Service. *Du Mont* takes Courrge again at *Hanover*, and renews his Correspondence with *Grandval*; and New Instructions being given them, *Grandval*, *Leesdale* and *Parker*, to use the Words of *Grandval*'s Sentence, Sign'd by the Earl of *Athlone*, *went to St. Germains on the 16th of* April, 1692. *to speak with the Late King* James *about the said Design, who had knowledge of it, and to take Leave of him before they began their Journey*. Grandval had

had Audience of King James, *the Late Queen being preſent, the King telling him* Parker *has given me an Account of the Buſineſs.* If you and the other Officers do me this Service, you ſhall never want; *and* Parker, Grandval *and* Leeſdale, *entred into a Diſcourſe about this Deſign.* A Rendezvous was appointed at *Uden*, in the County of *Raveſteyn*, where the Buſineſs was to be finally adjuſted; but a Diſcovery of the Conſpiracy being made by *Leeſdale*; *Grandval* was ſeiz'd at *Eyndhoven*, beyond *Antwerp*; and *Du Mont* confeſs'd it all to the Duke of *Zell*, which ended in *Grandval*'s full Confeſſion to the Court Martial, conſiſting of

The Earl of *Athlone*, Preſident.
Lieutenant General *Van Scravenmore.*
Lieutenant General *Talmaſh.*
The Marq. *De La Foreſt* } Majors Gen.
Monſieur *Van Weede*, } Majors Gen.
Count *Noyelles*, } Majors Gen.
Monſieur *Zobel*, } Majors Gen.
Collonel *Churchil*, } Brigad. Gen.
Collonel *Ramſey*, } Brigad. Gen.

Who Condemn'd him to be Hang'd, Drawn and Quarter'd. It is remarkable, that this Aſſaſſination, as well as the reſt, was to be follow'd by a *French* Invaſion; and the Guilt of it therefore is to be ſhar'd by the whole Faction, who were apprehenſive as *Grandval* told *Leeſdale*, *That the King of* Great Britain *was the only Obſtacle to the* French *King's Deſigns*; which to re-

move, the Courts of *France* and St. *Germains* enter'd into this Execrable Conſpiracy; to which were Privy, beſides the Miniſters and Officers before-mention'd, the Duke of *Luxemburgh*, Monſieur *Bedal*, Envoy at *Hanover*, Monſieur *Rebenac*, both employ'd in the moſt difficult Embaſſies; Monſieur *Mureau*, Envoy from the King of *Poland* to the *States General*, a *French* Man, and probably the *French* King himſelf; for it is not likely ſuch a Helliſh Contrivance ſhould be form'd by his Favourites and Miniſters, without his Knowledge and Conſent; or if it was, that they would all have continu'd in their wonted Favour and Employments. How the Faction was animated by their hopes of Succeſs of this Plot, appears in the following Account of it Printed at that time. "At the ſame time that "*Grandval* and *Leeſdale* took Journey "from *Paris* to *Flanders*, *Parker* came "over to *England*, we have all reaſon to "remember the great Hopes our Male-"contents expreſs'd here at that Time, "and how ſure they ſeem'd to be of ſome "*New Revolution*; ſo much Joy and Aſ-"ſurance were viſible in their Counte-"nances, as ſeem'd to proceed from a "fix'd Certainty they had of ſome mighty "Succeſs, which they hop'd for in their "Affairs, and one could not poſſibly dive "into. It is true the *French* King was in "*Flanders*, and King *James* waiting the "firſt Opportunity of Wind and Tide, "to carry over his Army into *England*.

"But

" But even all this could ſcarce make up " more than a Probability, much leſs a " certainty of Succeſs. His Majeſty was " already on the other ſide, and his For- " ces were drawing together from all " Quarters, to oppoſe the *French*; our " Fleet was at Sea, and a far braver one " it was, then the *French* could poſſibly " ſend out againſt us; Whence then could " all this Confidence proceed? There muſt " certainly be ſome other thing in it than " we were then aware of. *Parker* com- " ing over at that time, and his correſ- " ponding with his Friends here, carry " with it a ſhrewd Suſpicion of what we " may reaſonably judge was the Ground " of all this Inſolence of the Party. The expectation of the King's Murder, of his being baſely Aſſaſſinated by the black Contrivance of a King, who durſt not meet him in the Field. Theſe are the Men who hold the Divinity of Crown'd Heads, and of the Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience* and *Non Reſiſtance*. This is the Faction that has always been crying up the Glory of the *French* Monarch, and the Generoſity of his Principles. How he has ſhewn it, has been related, with reſpect to the Kings of *England* and *Poland*, and the Duke of *Lorrain*. If the Dark Hiſtory of his Reign was laid open, how many ſuch Scenes would be expos'd, and fill every Chriſtian Breaſt with Horror. For alas! All the Helliſh Deſigns of the *French* Court, on the Lives of ſuch as oppos'd them, were not ſo unſucceſsful as this

of *Grandval*; and we may be sure that the Duke of *Lorrain* was not the only Prince who fell a Victim to their Treachery and Ambition. How different are the Proceedings of Men truly Great, from such as usurp that Name. True Glory scorns all such Ignoble ways of extending its Empire. 'Tis not thus that the Heroes of old vanquish'd their Enemies, nor is this the way to that Immortal Fame which is the Reward of Illustrious Actions. Yet *Lewis* XIV. assumes the Sirname of *Le Grand*, as if he had gain'd as many Victories as *Pompey*, or had an Empire as boundless as *Charlemagne*. That Greatness which does not consist in the Title only, is always accompany'd with Vertue, and a Vertuous Mind is incapable of consenting to any Councils that are not as Pure as they are Safe. Let us give some Instances of this Character in King *William*, and of the Return he made for the *French* King's Horrid Designs against his Life.

About the Year 1682. His Majesty, then Prince of *Orange*, receiv'd a Letter from an unknown Hand, who yet gave himself a Name, in which he offer'd to deliver *Europe* from all her Fears, by destroying the *French* King; he desir'd only a safe Refuge in *Holland*, and a small Subsistance, much less than he should leave behind him in *France*. The Answer to this Letter was to be left with the Post-Master's Wife at *Paris*, and a Week after he wrote a second to the same purpose. The first Letter came to his Highness at Night

Night at *Loo*, when Monſieur *Dyckvelt* happen'd to be with him. The Prince ſhew'd him the Letter, and deſir'd him to go to the *Hague* immediately, and deliver it to Monſieur *D' Avaux*, then the *French* Ambaſſador to the *States*. Monſieur *Dyckvelt* made ſuch haſte, that he was with the Ambaſſador next Morning, and gave him the Letter, which he receiv'd with great acknowledgement of the Prince's Generoſity, and ſent it to *Paris*, as he did the ſecond Letter alſo. The Poſt-Maſter's Wife being examin'd, ſaid, That a Man had come ſeveral times to call for a Letter, but he not coming again, She was order'd to go about the City, and ſee if ſhe could know him. Upon her Information that ſhe believ'd ſhe had found out the Perſon, a Man was ſeiz'd and Committed to the *Baſtile*. He happen'd to be a Proteſtant, which no doubt made the Court of *France* like the Diſcovery the better: But when ſome of the Parliament came to examine him, and to confront him with the Woman, ſhe, when ſhe view'd him nearly, and heard him ſpeak, own'd ſhe was miſtaken, and that he was not the Man; ſo after ſome time he was diſmiſt, and came to *Holland* upon the General Perſecution of the Proteſtants. I have read of another Tryal of His Majeſty's Generoſity after he came to be King. An unknown Perſon writ to the Lord Biſhop of S——, That he had a Propoſition of great Conſequence to make to his Majeſty, if he

should have his Promiſe that he might do it ſafely. This the King allow'd the Biſhop to do, and his Lordſhip writ to the Man by the ſame method he had given. When he came to him, he told him how long he had liv'd and ſerv'd at *Verſailles*, how well he knew that Court, and at laſt he offer'd to kill the *French* King. At this the Biſhop ſtarted up immediately, and ſaid, *He thought His Majeſty was too well known for any to dare to come with ſuch a Propoſition. He hop'd he himſelf had been alſo ſo well known, that none ſhould have made it by him.* Adding, *He was ſorry a Promiſe of Safety was given him*, and bid *him be gone out of his Sight.* When my Lord gave an Account of this next Day, the King thought he had carry'd the matter of the Promiſe too far, *for no Promiſe was to be underſtood to relate to ſuch Crimes*, and therefore he wiſh'd the Biſhop had ſecur'd him, ordering him, *To be ſure to do it, if ever he could again ſet Eye on him.* I ſhall only add one Inſtance more of King *William*'s Generous Carriage towards his Enemies, that would have done any thing, tho' of ever ſo wicked a Nature, to have rid themſelves of him, they being afraid of nothing ſo much, as of his Courage, Wiſdom and Vertue. And that is with relation to King *James*. When that Prince was in *Ireland*, a Propoſition was made by one who had ſerv'd him and lov'd him, which he thought might put an end to the War; he ſent it to the King by the ſame Prelate, the

Biſhop

Bishop of S———, and it was this, That a Third Rate Ship well Mann'd, and well Commanded, might be sent to St. *George's* Channel, and that when they should come near *Dublin*, they should have Orders to declare for the Late King, and send him a Message about it, which he who made the Proposition, and was to go along in the Ship, said, he would himself carry, not doubting but upon that Invitation, King *James* would presently come Aboard, and then they should Sail away with him. But he added Two Things, the one was, That they should have Orders not to bring him to *England*, or to make him a Prisoner, but to carry him to some Port of *Spain* or *Italy*, and there set him Ashoar. The other was, That he should have 10000 Guineas consign'd in the Ship, to be given him in the Place where they should Land the King, that he might not be in too Naked a Condition. When his Majesty heard all this, he said, *It look'd very plausible, and he verily believ'd it would take, yet without taking Time to think of it, he said he would not meddle with it, he hated* Tricks, *and would be in none.* Besides, the Late King if he came Aboard, would bring some of his Guards with him, who without doubt, would offer at some Resistance, when they saw themselves caught, upon which a Disorder might arise, and the Seamen perhaps knock King *James* on the Head; wherefore he should go on in fair way, and trust

to

to Providence, while he maintain'd his Integrity. These were the Methods King *William* pursu'd, while his Enemy the *French* King, more an Enemy to his Vertue, than to his Dignity, by Bribery, Treachery and Murder, rid himself of those he hated and fear'd. It may be wonder'd at, how *English Men*, who when K. *James* was destroying our Constitution, and overturning all our Laws and Liberties, would have given any thing for a *Deliverer*, should so soon forget their State of Despair, and wish for their Old Master again, whose Servitude had been the *Worst of Slaveries*; and how the *French* King cou'd meet with so many Friends in a Nation, that ever had an Abhorrence of *French* Friendship, but whoever considers the Politicks of that Court, and the Propensity there is in Corrupt Men, to make Gold their God, and Worship it as the *Jews* of Old did their *Calf*, will be at no loss to find out the Source of all the Factions and Conspiracies against King *William* and Queen *Mary*. I shall therefore shew the Reader some of the Most Christian King's ways of distributing his *Lewis*'s in this Kingdom, as well as others, and the good Bargains he made by it. It is not to be imagin'd how the *French* King's Agents descended in their Briberies; they made use of the meanest Tools, and fix'd their Gold on Fellows, that never saw any before in their Lives: As I have read some where of the Traffick of the *French* Ambassador

in

in K. *Charles*'s Reign, who dealt even with Slaves to gain his Ends. His Master was then endeavouring to bring *England* to joyn with *France* against *Holland*, and gave his Money away very freely, where he had an Opportunity with the least Prospect of Success. Among others that had tasted of his Bounty, was a *Black* belonging to a Person of Quality, from whom this Story came, and in one of the most Servile Employments of his Family. The Ambassador found a way to give this Boy Ten Guineas, only to get out of him what he heard the Servants of a higher Form, talk about a *Holland* War. This was the most that could be expected of him, for he was none of them that was ever admitted into his Master's Presence, his Business being in the Stable, out of which he was hardly ever seen. And if such a Fellow as that was thought worthy of a Purse of Gold, for setting us against the *Dutch*, What must those who were capable of accomplishing it merit? What Rewards had they for Services of that Importance? If a Man was seen one Year in Beggary, the next in Affluence, where is the Miracle? There was a certain great Favourite in King *Charles*'s Court, who thought of a pretty Device to receive a great Sum of Money to serve the *French* Interest, and to do it with Decency. It must be own'd he was faithful to that Interest to the last; at the Expence of his Master's Honour, and the Safety of his Country. Whether the

Sum

Sum was too great to be paid ſecretly, or whether he choſe to let the World ſee a New Art of taking a Bribe openly without running the Hazard of being call'd in Queſtion, true it is, that tho he was very far from being a Gameſter, he found means to put a vaſt Sum of Money in his Pocket, and it was no hard matter to do it, when the Gentleman that play'd with him, loſt it willingly, and in concert with him that won it. On this Head a Man of Worth and Intelligence, wrote thus above Twenty Years ago. "This muſt be ſaid for the Honour of "one of the laſt Reigns, never People "knew better to drain *France* of ſome of "its Superfluous Metal. There is a cer- "tain Gentleman in *England*, at this ve- "ry Day, that has paid many Thouſands "of Pounds of the *French* King's Money, "in order to enſlave *England*; and which "is ſtrange, both Ignorant of the Perſons "to whom he paid it; and is notwith- "ſtanding a very Honeſt Man himſelf. "But the manner of his paying it ſeem'd "to be copied exactly from Cardinal "*Richlieu*'s Pattern. Being in the Ser- "vice of a great Foreign Miniſter, the "then Diſtributer of the Favours of "*Lewis* XIV. He was ſometimes charg'd "with a greater, ſometimes a leſſer Bag "of Money, according as People's dif- "ferent Services deſerv'd, but for the "moſt part, St. *James*'s Park was the "Place where thoſe Showers of Gold fell. "It was to ſuch, ſuch a particular Tree as

"number'd

" number'd in ſuch a Row in the Park " that this Gentleman was directed, and " there he was, without ſpeaking one " ſingle Word, to deliver ſuch a particu- " lar Purſe of Money to a Man he ſhould " find in ſuch or ſuch a Poſture, leaning " againſt a Tree in ſuch a particular Ha- " bit, but always with his Face cover'd " ſome way or other. And how near the Prince's Perſon it ſelf may be ap- proach'd on theſe Occaſions, we may ſee by the Hiſtory of Monſieur *de Louvois* the *French* King's firſt Miniſter, of whom the ſame Author writes. *There is all the Reaſon in the World to believe Monſieur* de Louvois *tranſacted in Perſon ſeveral Intrigeus at other Courts than that of* Verſailles, *and that he was ſecretly diſguis'd more than once within the Cabinet of a Great Prince that ſhall be Nameleſs, ſome hundreds of Miles from* Paris, *when at the ſame time his Abſence from Court was cover'd with the Pretence of taking Phyſick at his Country Retirement, or of ſame ſecret Service on the Frontiers.*

To what Party the *French* apply'd themſelves in *England*, I need not mention, and how ſucceſsful they were, appear'd by the Loſſes and Diſgraces of the laſt Reign. The following Account of theſe Matters will ſet them in a true Light. It is taken out of a Dialogue addreſs'd to King *William* in the Year 1692. and the Perſon who is introduc'd, ſpeaking of the Faction that in all Times have been Friends to *France*, and conſequently Enemies to *Holland*, ſays, " Let us Examine

" then

" then how Honourably, how Gratefully you have behav'd your ſelves to a " King who has rely'd on you, and o- " blig'd you ſo extremely. We will paſs " by thoſe who refuſe to ſwear Allegi- " ance to him on the before-mentioned " honourable Pretences, and only treat " of thoſe who have accepted Employ- " ments of Profit and Truſt. Have not " even thoſe in the Government both " in *England* and *Scotland* been plotting the " Dethroning this King, who has ſo gene- " rouſly truſted them, and courted them " ſo kindly? Particularly did not one of " your Party at the beginning of this " Reign give Notice to the King's Ene- " mies of Warrants againſt them, in or- " der to their making their Eſcape, and " was diſcharg'd his Employment upon " it? Did not a Brother of a certain Se- " cretary give out Blank Paſſes under " the Hand and Seal of that Secretary, " by which a Correſpondence was carry'd " on between this Place and *France* ſe- " curely? And was not this Gentleman " on this Account laid aſide gently and " privately, and the Buſineſs huſh'd up, " for fear of any Reflection on our *Mo-* " *narchical* Favourites, and put on the " Publick as Paſſes forg'd, as indeed they " were by our own Officers, and a lame " Proclamation publiſh'd with Rewards " to the Diſcoverer, but without a Par- " don for Life when they knew the whole " Matter before-hand? Have not ſome " Women lately been taken going to

" *France*

" *France* with Letters to King *James*, ha-
" ving a *Scotch* Secretary's Paſs under his
" Hand and Seal? Was not an Officer of
" the Poſt-houſe found correſponding
" with *France*, and without any other Pu-
" niſhment for his Capital Crime than
" loſing his Office? The Story of Cap-
" tain *John Layton*, late Commander of
" the St. *Albans*, which has been told in
" the Houſe of Commons, will ſhew you
" how faithfully you *Tories* ſerve the Go-
" vernment, and how fit you are to be
" truſted. Captain *Layton* being order'd
" to cruſe twenty Leagues off *Uſhant* was
" driven by a Storm of Wind to Cape
" *Clear*, where he met a *French* Privateer
" and took her. The Captain of the
" Privateer ask'd *Layton* the Name of his
" Ship, which he told him; upon this look-
" ing into his Pocket-Book, he demanded
" of *Layton* how he came there, for by
" his Intelligence the Station of the St.
" *Albans* was to be twenty Leagues from
" *Uſhant* and no further.

" A like Story is told of a Tranſport
" Ship going to *France* with Priſoners ſome
" few Months ſince, who meeting with
" ſeveral Privateers, ask'd them how they
" durſt be ſo bold as to cruiſe there when
" four *Engliſh* Men of War were within ſix
" Leagues of them. They reply'd, *They*
" *knew the Station of thoſe* Engliſh, *and that*
" *they cou'd not come where they were cruiſing,*
" *without breaking their Orders.* But the Re-
" lation of the Sailor who was taken, and
" for ſome time ſerv'd Aboard an *Iriſh*

" Priva-

" Privateer, is yet more remarkable; " for he depoſes, That they told him " three Months before the *Straights* Fleet " ſail'd from *Spithead*, both the time " when they were to ſail, and the num- " ber of their Convoy, and that the " main Fleet was to go no further than " beyond *Uſham*. Now how could they " come by this Intelligence but from Of- " ficers employ'd by and ſworn to the " Government, I know not; and if ſo, " *how faithfully and honourably you Tories ſerve* " *thoſe that truſt you, and how fit you are to be* " *employ'd in this* Critical Time, *I appeal to* " *all the World.*

I am not Ignorant that theſe Facts, at leaſt that of *Layton*'s, is too well known to deſerve a Place in a *Secret Hiſtory*; but we have too much reaſon to believe it is forgotten, and though no Secret, yet contemn'd as a Trifle, the effect of Malice, which was the occaſion of my remembring it here, and that there were ſome who had been bred Fanaticks and Republicans who then fell in with that Party, ſo exclaim'd againſt in the above-mention'd Dialogue, we may perceive by an Anſwer from the other ſide. *I muſt grant there is ſomething in what you ſay, Union and Integrity will do great Maſters, but you Whigs cannot pretend to this. You are not two of you in the ſame Mind; you have no Government, no Diſcipline in your Party or Firmneſs to one another in any Point. Your great* P. F——Y *turns Cadet, and carries Arms under the General of the* Weſt Saxons; *the two* H——lys

Father

Father and Son, are Engineers under the late Lieutenant of the Ordnance, and bomb *any Bill which he has once resolv'd to reduce to Ashes, though it were for* Recognition, *or any thing else that is most necessary for our Security.*

Could all this be effected without *French* Gold? Could Men who three or four Years before had been in Arms to defend their Religion, Laws and Liberties, now give them up for nothing, and side with a *French* Faction to revenge only the loss of a Collonel's Commission, and for not being mounted from a Troop to a Regiment? Could People come out of a Conventicle to Vote for their Persecutors, if they had not known some of the *Ways and Means* we have been discoursing of, especially when their Circumstances were not so flourishing as to be above Temptation. And if such Men could so do, when we were Enemies to *France*, what would they have done had we been Friends? 'Tis most certain *France* did us most Mischief when we were at Peace with her, and when her Purse was fullest. If *Spain* and the *Indies* should ever be hers, as they would have been had not the Duke of *Anjou* renounc'd *France*, and thereby declar'd himself a true *Spaniard*? If she had the Mountains of *Mexico* and *Peru* at her Service, as she must have had, if that Monarchy had been at King *Lewis*'s disposal, and we had not divided it from his own so infallibly as it is now done, what Work might there have been for his Di-

ſtribution, when he had a Store not eaſily exhauſted to go to, and when the Notion of Liberty is ſo ſunk, that ſome People think it is hardly worth keeping? How theſe Men came to be employ'd in Revolution Reigns, has been before ſpoken of. The Houſe of Commons ſoon after the Abdication, ſent to King *William* to know who adviſed him to truſt ſome of the Abdicated King's wicked Inſtruments, but they had Cunning enough to maintain their Ground, and diſappoint all the Endeavours of the Friends of the Government to remove them. There is ſomething ſo glaring in their wonderful Profeſſions of Loyalty, that it cannot but take with Princes who are fond of Power. Mankind Naturally hate Oppoſition, and Obedience is the beſt Quality one can have to gain Favour in all Caſes. Their conſtant Cry was the *Church*, their conſtant Boaſt the *ſervice of the Crown*, tho when to ſerve the Crown, and to ſerve the Country are two different Things, I know what that Government and that Service muſt be, 'tis the ſame as the Earl of *Warrington* obſerves in his Charge to the Grand Jury of *Cheſter* in *April* 1693. *If then we ought to take care of our Liberty, how ridiculous is it to talk of* ſerving the Crown, *when by that is meant to make the King's Will and Pleaſure the Meaſure of our Obedience? It muſt be a meer Nonſenſical Boaſt to talk at that rate, when they have ſtript themſelves of the Means of* ſerving *like Rational Creatures; for when Men have given up their Liberty,* what

what does all their Service *to the Crown differ from that of a Beast. The Service that we do to our Prince should be like that which we render unto God, not a forc'd and constrain'd, but a free and reasonable* Service. *So that I think I may say, that he who hopes to recommend himself to his Prince's Favour by such a Piece of* Service *must needs be a very profligate Wretch, and believe his Prince to be altogether such a one, as himself.*

Whoever will compare the Cant of some late Addresses, the Fustian Flattery and Fiery Spirit they are full of with those in the Reigns of King *Charles* and King *James* II. cannot but pity the Folly of an Inconstant People, who weary of the Blessings they enjoy in a good Reign would perswade their Sovereign to pursue those Methods, which lost the Reputation of former Princes with the Affection of their People. It is our Happiness to have a Queen on the Throne who will not let us ruin our selves; who is as careful of our Liberties as of her own Prerogative, and the fulsome Complements of foolish Bigots are only a Jest on those that make them, and on the Party who fancy it is for their Purpose.

There would be nothing in all this but what is merry, were it not to see how Stupid such numbers of our Countrymen are, and how liable therefore to be led to their Destruction by Crafty and Ambitious Men, if ever it should be their ill Fortune to have a Prince of less Piety, less Moderation, and less Zeal for the Publick

Welfare of the Kingdom. This indeed is a Melancholly Reflection. It gives us little Hopes of preſerving our precious Liberty, if it ſhould hereafter be our Lot to fall into ſuch Evil Times as thoſe, from which King *William* deliver'd us. Thoſe Evil Times can never return, unleſs we are ſo mad as to take a Popiſh King again, a Madneſs which would render us ſo very wretched, inaſmuch as the whole World would think us not worth ſaving, that all the Comfort which could attend our Deſpair, would be to ſee thoſe who were the Occaſion of our Miſery, involv'd in the ſame ſad Fate, and repenting too late of the Practices which ended in the Ruin they themſelves did not perhaps at firſt intend; but rather than not carry their Point, they will hazard every thing, having not Foreſight nor Wiſdom ſufficient to prevent the miſchevious Conſequences of the Confuſion they were the Cauſe of. Thus they go on from one raſh Counſel to another, till they at laſt fall head-long from the Precipice to which they blindly run.

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MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM

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